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ABSTRACT

This book introduces students to the people and the geography of Brunei. The country is filled with a variety of complex ecosystems and tropical rain forests. This book provides background information and suggested topics for an intensive study of the country. The three chapters are entitled: (1) "Introduction to Brunei"; (2) "Early History"; and (3) "Modern Brunei." Chapter 2 highlights early empires, European arrivals, Brunei in the Sixteenth Century, and the British presence. Chapter 3 covers World War 2, the road to independence, the Brunei rebellion, resolution of the Malaysia issue, and the reign of Southern Hassanal Bolkiah. Contains exercises, an answer key, and a 34-item bibliography. (BT)

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Brunei: Abode of Peace

by
Bjorn Schelander

with illustrations
by
Ann Hsu

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Chapter One: Introduction to Brunei

Despite its small size, the country of Brunei is a land of many interesting sights. Its natural beauty includes variety of complex ecosystems, such as mangrove swamps, major river systems, and tropical rain forests. Man-made attractions include a city built on stilts above the water and one of the largest mosques in the world. This chapter will present more information about the unique geographical and cultural features of the country.

Study Objectives

After reading this chapter you should have a basic understanding of the following topics:

- ✓ the location of Brunei within Southeast Asia
- ✓ the main districts and river systems of Brunei
- ✓ the influence of the climate, including monsoon winds
- ✓ the plant and animal life of Brunei's forests
- ✓ the natural resources of Brunei
- ✓ the ethnic composition of the country's people

The modern state of Brunei is a small country, with many distinctive features which both link it and set it apart from its Southeast Asian neighbors. For example, like nearby Indonesia, Brunei is a predominantly Islamic country. Yet while in 1998 Indonesia contained the world's largest population of Muslims (and, with over 199,000,000 people, ranked as the world's fourth most populous nation), Brunei had fewer than 300,000 residents, giving it one of the smallest populations of any Southeast Asian country.

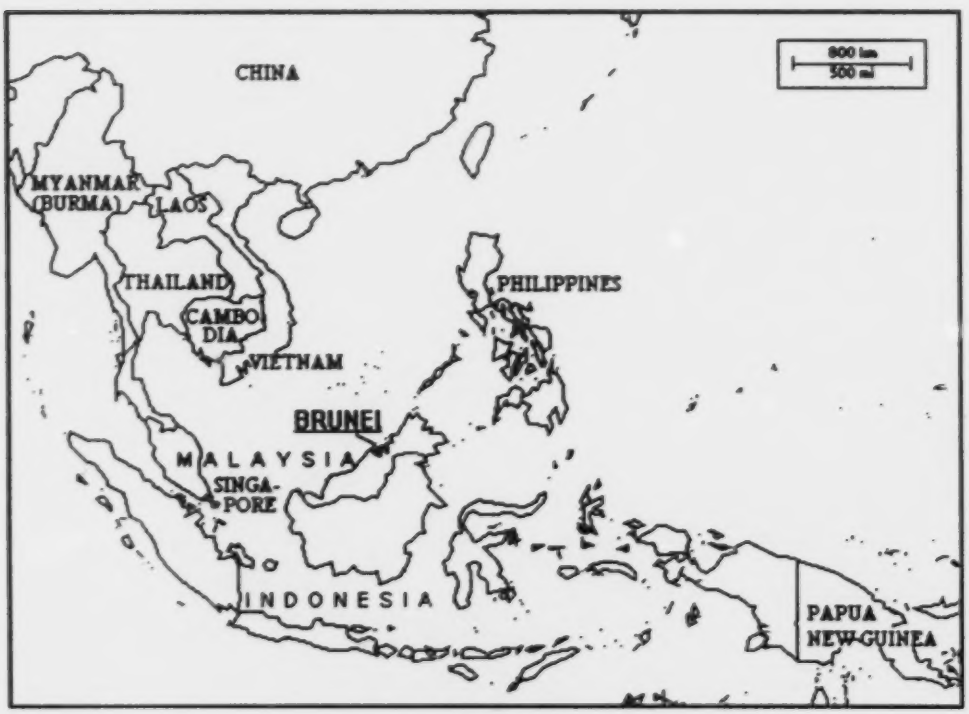
Like Malaysia, its immediate neighbor, Brunei has a significant proportion of its land covered with tropical rainforest. However, whereas Malaysia has allowed the logging industry to cut down large areas of rainforest, Brunei has kept most of its tropical forest (estimated to cover approximately 70% of its total land area) free from commercial exploitation.

Brunei is also not alone among its neighbors in possessing significant reserves of oil: however, its combination of small population and large oil revenues has allowed it to achieve the highest per capita income in all of Southeast Asia.

These examples demonstrate some of the ways in which Brunei shares similarities with its neighbors while maintaining its own distinctive character. In addition to possessing a variety natural landscapes, Brunei also has a diverse human population which includes a mix of Malay, Chinese, and indigenous ethnic groups (as well as a sizable expatriate community). To gain an appreciation of Brunei's unique position among Southeast Asian nations, it is important to have an understanding of both the country's natural resources and its cultural heritage. This chapter provides an overview of the physical and cultural composition of Brunei.

Geography

Brunei lies in the heart of island Southeast Asia. Its closest neighbors are the East Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah, while further to the northeast lie the islands of the Philippines, and stretching from the southeast to the southwest are the islands of Indonesia. Singapore, the only Southeast Asian country with a smaller land area than Brunei, is situated to the west at a slightly more southerly latitude.



Brunei itself consists of 5769 square kilometers (2227 square miles) located on the north coast of the island of Borneo. As the world's third largest island, Borneo is also occupied by parts of Malaysia and Indonesia. The island's circumference measures

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approximately 3000 miles, and faces the China Sea to the north and east, the Java Sea to the south, and the Sulu and Celebes Seas to the east. A massive ridge of mountains separates the Malaysian and Bruneian areas to the north from the Indonesian province of Kalimantan to the south. Brunei's topography is marked mainly by coastal plains and hilly lowland areas. With over two thirds of its land area still under forest, Brunei has only developed a small portion of its available territory.

Brunei's land boundaries are somewhat unusual: the country consists of two separate tracts embedded within the East Malaysian state of Sarawak. The two sections of Brunei are separated from each other by a narrow portion of Malaysian territory approximately 20 miles wide. This area of land, known as the Limbang district, was formerly part of Brunei, (see map, pg. 7) and its loss to Sarawak was never officially acknowledged. While relations between Malaysia and Brunei in the 1990's have been quite cordial, some lingering resentment remained over the issue of the loss of the Limbang District.

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Within Borneo, as in many other areas of Southeast Asia, the river systems have had a great influence on human patterns of trade and settlement. Historically, rivers served as the major means of transportation from the coastal areas to the inland forests. Settlements grew up at the mouth of a river as people tried to take advantage of the exchange of items obtained from the inland areas with those brought in from elsewhere along the coast or from overseas.

These coastal settlements often developed into cosmopolitan centers due to their interaction with visiting foreign traders as well as with people from the interior. By serving as a key center for the exchange of foreign goods and local products from the inland forest, the river settlement frequently grew in size and importance. The well organized system of administration and defense required to maintain their status as important trading ports tended to let the rivermouth towns exert a dominant role over the inland groups with whom they traded. Yet the coastal settlements were also dependent on the inland groups for their supply of trade items. Thus a mutually beneficial relationship usually existed between the coastal and inland peoples.

The legacy of this pattern of riverine settlement is still evident in Brunei. The capital, Bandar Seri Begawan, is located near the mouth of the Brunei river, and the four administrative districts of the country (Brunei-Muara, Belait, Tutong, and Temburong) are all defined by and named after their major river systems. The Limbang district, formerly part of the geographic center of Brunei (but now part of Sarawak), is also named after its main river.

Climate

As a tropical country, the climate of Brunei is predictably hot and humid. Temperatures usually fall between 75 and 90 degrees Fahrenheit (24 and 32 degrees Celsius), while humidity averages nearly 80 percent. While rainfall is common throughout the year, the months from September to December are usually the wettest, and those from January to March are the driest.

Brunei's location along the northern coast of Borneo exposes the country to the monsoon winds that blow across the South China Sea. These winds were an important factor during the many centuries of seaborne trade within Southeast Asia. Traders from China sailed towards the Indonesian archipelago to destinations in Borneo or the Malay

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peninsula during the northeast monsoon season from November to April, and returned home to China during the southwest monsoon (May to October). These same monsoon seasons also determined the sailing patterns that allowed traders to travel back and forth between the Malay peninsula and India. Because the Malay peninsula was as far as traders from China or India could travel in a single season, it became a meeting place for international traders to exchange spices, silk, textiles, and other items of value from their respective home regions.

These trade patterns influenced Brunei's participation in an international trade that linked it to China, the Malay peninsula, India, and the islands that today constitute Indonesia and the Philippines. At one point in history, Brunei's influence and power extended all along the north Borneo coast and across to the islands of the Sulu Sea. At that time, its capital at Brunei Bay was a major regional commercial center that attracted Muslim traders, Chinese merchants, and even Portuguese trade.

Fauna and Flora

With much of its land area still covered by tropical forest, Brunei has a wealth of interesting animal and plant life. Early European visitors in the nineteenth century often assumed that the abundant and verdant plant growth in tropical rainforests, such as those found in Brunei, must be a sign of extremely fertile soil. In fact, the top soil in many areas is relatively shallow and often ill-suited to commercial farming techniques. The secret of the lush jungle growth lies in the rapid and constant recycling of nutrients from the dead

leaves and other organic material that falls to decompose on the forest floor. These nutrients are quickly reabsorbed by the towering trees, climbing vines, and other plants. As long as the warm temperatures and humid conditions combine with the stable conditions provided by a mature forest (such as the root systems of trees that hold the soil in place), the process of organic decay and nutrient reabsorption can sustain a complex and varied plant and animal system. Clearing the forest disrupts this system, often resulting in erosion and loss of soil fertility.

The tropical forests of Borneo have provided many interesting products which have attracted the attention of traders for centuries. Brunei was long known in early times as a source of superior quality camphor, a product that was greatly valued for its medicinal qualities. Camphor could be obtained as a crystalline growth from the trunk of the *Dryobalanops aromatica* tree. Other jungle plant products included rattan, *gaharu* wood, and numerous types of resin. Gutta percha (obtained from trees of the sapodilla family) and jelutong (from trees of the dogbane family) were valued for their resinous latex, while dammar, (a resin from the dipterocarpaceae family) was sought as an ingredient in varnishes and inks. The exotic sounding "dragon's blood" (the red-colored extract from the fruit of a type of palm) was used as a dye. A more familiar plant cultivated in Borneo was the pepper vine. In early times pepper was valued for its curative properties.

Products derived from jungle creatures included beeswax, honey, exotic bird feathers, and hornbill casques (the ivory-like bulge on the top of the bird's beak). Another valued item was the cliff-dwelling swift's nest: the bird's saliva used in building the nest

was (and still is) the key ingredient of birds' nest soup. Rhinoceros horns were much prized by the Chinese as a medicine and aphrodisiac: sadly the Borneo rhinoceros has apparently been hunted to extinction. One of the oddest products traded in early times were bezoar stones, the hard deposits that accumulate in the digestive tracts of some monkeys. Bezoar stones were thought to have medicinal qualities.

Clearly, the tropical forests of north Borneo provide a wide variety of plant and animal items that have been used for trade. In addition to these commercially valuable items, the forest is home to many interesting and less well-known species. One of the more unusual looking mammals inhabiting Borneo's forests is the tarsier, a small nocturnal tree-dwelling creature. Other arboreal animals include various species of fruit bats, also known as flying foxes. A more familiar mammal found in this region is the orangutan. Found only in northern Borneo and on the Indonesian island of Sumatra, the orangutan (named from the Malay words meaning "man of the forest") is an endangered species. The Malaysian and Indonesian governments have established rehabilitation centers which attempt to reintroduce illegally captured orangutans back into the wild, but continued hunting and the destruction of their forest habitat pose serious threats to the survival of the species. Other creatures of the hills, forest, riverbeds and coastal areas of Brunei include monkeys, deer, crocodiles, pythons, tree frogs, and an enormous variety of insects.

Borneo is situated at the edge of the "Wallace Line," which delineates the boundary between the Asian and Australian animal kingdoms. This imaginary line is drawn between Borneo and Sulawesi, and continues further south between Bali and

Lombok. Borneo therefore represents part of the eastern limit of the range of animals that are associated with mainland Asia: further to the east one finds animals (such as several types of marsupials) with clear links to Australia. The line is named after the naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace, who, after many years of studying the plant and animal species of the Malay archipelago, independently developed a theory of evolution at about the same time as Darwin. Wallace and Darwin formally presented their ideas on natural selection to the scientific community in a joint presentation to the Linnaean Society of London in 1858.

While Borneo is blessed with a wide variety of animal and plant life inhabiting its mountains, forests, and coasts, it also has access to a wealth of items from the surrounding ocean. Brunei's coastal areas provide it with a variety of products from the South China Sea, including agar-agar, an edible seaweed still used today as a gelling product for food and as a culture medium for scientific purposes. The sea has also been a source for cowrie shells, mother-of-pearl, and pearls: legend states that the early rulers of Brunei possessed two enormous pearls, which a sixteenth century European visitor was told were as big as hen's eggs. Interestingly, pearls have also been mentioned in reports as early as 1225 by the Chinese official Chau Ju Kua, who wrote that they were the object of veneration at the court of P'o-ni, an early kingdom on the north of Borneo which many scholars have linked to Brunei. Other important early trading items from the sea included turtle shell and *trepang*, a type of sea cucumber often used in Chinese cuisine (also known as sea-slugs or bêche-de-mer).

Resources

Brunei is probably most widely known today as an oil producing country. For many years revenues from mineral fuels (including oil, gas, and other petroleum products) have accounted for over ninety-five percent of Brunei's export earnings. The state shares in the profit from the oil industry with Brunei Shell Petroleum Company, a part of the Royal Dutch Shell Group. So much of the state's income is derived from the activities of Brunei Shell Petroleum that its economy has been called the "Shellfare state." Oil wealth has allowed the government of Brunei to provide its citizens with free education and health care even though there is no personal income tax. Petroleum revenues also support a large civil service, which employs a substantial percentage of the population.

Oil was first noted in Brunei as early as 1903, though commercial production only began after 1929 when large reserves were found in the Seria field, located in the Belait district of western Brunei. (More recent areas of exploration and drilling include large offshore sites.) Soon Brunei became a major exporter of oil, though production was interrupted during the second world war.

Brunei profited immensely from the steep rise in oil prices recorded during the 1970's. Prices soared on the world market from under $1.25 a barrel in 1970 to about $36.00 a barrel in 1980. This rise in prices coupled with an increase in oil production brought in huge amounts of cash reserves for Brunei.

In addition to oil reserves, Brunei has significant amounts of natural gas, which it exports as liquefied natural gas (LNG). In 1972, what was then the world's largest LNG

plant began production at Lumut. In the same year Japan began a twenty year contract with Brunei by which it agreed to import five million tons of LNG annually from this facility. In 1993 another twenty year contract with Japan was negotiated. Brunei continues to produce large quantities of LNG, and derives nearly as much revenue from these exports as it does from the sale of oil.

Western images of Brunei are often influenced by media reports emphasizing the tremendous wealth of the country. For example, details are released on the sultan's investments (which have included the purchase of a number of famous international hotels), his contributions to various causes (such as a $1,000,000 donation to the United Nations Children's Fund), or his lavishly furnished palace (which, with over 1700 rooms, is reported to be the largest palace in the world). Though Brunei has benefited greatly from its oil wealth, it is important to try to develop a balanced view of the country. In 1984, the year in which Brunei achieved full independence, World Bank Data indicated that Brunei had the world's second highest level of per capita income. However, approximately one decade later Brunei's per capita gross national product had fallen to thirtieth place in world rankings (putting it just behind Slovenia and Hong Kong). Part of this change was due to lower world-wide prices for crude oil: for example, the suddenly declining prices of 1986 resulted in oil revenues that were only about half the amount received the previous year. Another factor influencing the decline was the policy of restricting production to conserve oil reserves. In the late 1990's Brunei's oil reserves were estimated to be enough to sustain the country for another twenty or perhaps thirty years.

As it approached the beginning of the twenty-first century, Brunei still maintained an enviable balance of trade and large cash reserves. Despite the decrease in oil and gas revenues, export earnings still exceeded total government outlays. These budget surpluses, combined with investment income from existing capital, allowed the country's foreign reserves to continue to grow larger and larger. However, the country is heavily dependent on oil and gas exports, despite efforts by the government to diversify the economy.

Less than fifteen percent of the land is cultivated, resulting in low agricultural output and continued dependence on the importation of food from abroad. For example, the government maintains a cattle ranch in Australia to ensure a steady supply of beef: this ranch, located at Willeroo in the Northern Territory, is actually larger than the entire country of Brunei itself. Thailand continues to be a source for a large percentage of Brunei's staple food, rice.

The government has numerous incentives to encourage people to work in the agricultural sector, including free pesticides, low-cost fertilizers, training programs, model farms, and other support from the Agriculture Department. Despite this governmental assistance, during the 1990's less than five percent of the workforce was employed in agriculture (many of whom were only involved in subsistence farming), and Brunei remained heavily dependent on nearby Sabah and Sarawak for vegetables and other foods. The government has also tried to encourage the production of mushrooms and specialty fruits for the export market, but to date there has been only modest progress in these areas. More successful have been the efforts to achieve self-sufficiency in egg-

production. Overall, however, Brunei during the 1990's has relied on foreign imports for approximately eighty percent of its food.

So far Brunei has made only moderate efforts to increase its fishing industry: during the 1980's Brunei imported more seafood than it harvested locally. However, there is the potential to increase production and therefore limit the amount of imports.

People

Brunei is now home to a variety of peoples. Most prominent are the Malays, who account for nearly seventy percent of the total population. Other significant groups include the Chinese, several indigenous groups such as the Penan and Bisaya, and an expatriate community of both Western and Asian workers.

The early history of Brunei's royal family includes figures from several of the ethnic groups that have shaped the country's history. Alak Betatar was a local ruler who is now considered in Brunei to be the first of a long line of Malay sultans. He was installed as Sultan of Brunei by the Sultan of Johore (from the Malay peninsula). The second ruler, Sultan Ahmad, is said to have married a Chinese princess. The third sultan was Sharif Ali, an Arab from Taif who married the daughter of Sultan Ahmad. Thus the first three sultans of Brunei represent the important contributions to the country that have been made by the Malays and the Islamic religion (symbolically represented by the Arabic Sharif Ali, said to be a descendent of the Prophet Muhammad), as well as by the Chinese and local peoples. A brief description of some of Brunei's major ethnic groups is presented below.

Malays

It must be stressed that the term Malay (as it is commonly understood) is an ethnic rather than racial designation. In general terms, the Malay community in Brunei and the rest of the northern part of Borneo have historically been concentrated on the coastal areas, while other indigenous groups occupied areas further inland. An integral part of the Malay identity was (and still is) adherence to the Islamic religion. Indeed the expression "masuk melayu" (literally, "to enter [into the community of the] Malay" , i.e. to become a Malay) is synonymous with adoption of Islam. Members of other ethnic groups from the local inland areas can be assimilated into the Malay community by speaking the Malay language. adopting Islam, and adhering to other Malay customs. These traits are also shared by the Malay community on the Malay peninsula.

The Malays have long been the most prominent group in what is now the capital of Brunei, Bandar Seri Begawan They were and still are residents of the famous *Kampong Ayer* ("Water Village") section of the city, an area quite literally built on the water. The houses of the water village are built on stilts near the mouth of the Brunei river, and residents still often use boats as a basic means of transportation. The Kampong Ayer has been existence for hundreds of years. Accounts from European travelers record the settlement from as early as 1521, when it was visited by the Italian Antonio Pigafetta, a crew-member on Magellan's voyage to circumnavigate the globe. Pigafetta noted that almost all of the buildings of the city were wooden structures built over the water atop high pillars, with the exception of the Sultan's palace, which was built on solid ground.

Kampong Ayer itself is subdivided into separate sections, or wards, many of

which were at one time associated with a particular craft or occupation. For example, the inhabitants of certain wards were known for their excellence in fishing, woodwork, metalwork, or weaving. From the seventeenth century on, craftsmen from Kampong Ayer and other areas of Brunei established a reputation for producing particularly fine brassware, including canon and other intricately decorated items.

Malay Man Reading the Koran

Islam

The Islamic religion spread to Southeast Asia from its Arabic homeland (in what is now Saudi Arabia) over the course of several centuries. Marco Polo claimed that there was a Muslim settlement in one part of the Indonesian island of Sumatra as early as 1292, and isolated Muslim tombstones from Java have been found from even earlier dates. The religion was primarily brought into the region by Muslim traders who arrived from India and China. The popularity of Islam in Southeast Asia spread much more rapidly after its adoption by the court of Malacca in the early fifteenth century. Bruneian tradition links the founding of its royal family with the adoption of Islam.

Islam is one of the major monotheistic religions of the world. Its founder, the Prophet Muhammad, is considered to have personally witnessed the word of God: these revelations were then recorded in the Koran. Other important books of the religion include the Sharia, which outlines Islamic laws and regulations, and the Hadith, which provides details of Muhammad's life and teachings.

Believers of Islam are required to adhere to the "Five Pillars" of the faith. These include professing that "there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His prophet"; praying five times a day while facing toward Mecca; giving alms to charity; observing the holy month of Ramadan by fasting from sunrise to sunset; and, if possible, to make the pilgrimage to Mecca (the *hajj*) at least once during one's lifetime.

There are several distinct branches of Islam, the most important of which are the Sunni and Shiite sects. The Shiites are most commonly associated with the Persian world (i.e. with the modern country of Iran), while the Sunnis represent most other Islamic areas of the world. A smaller sect, representing a more mystical religious approach, is known as Sufism.

The Malay Language

Malay belongs to the Austronesian language family, a linguistic group which includes most of the languages native to island Southeast Asia. Examples of other languages in this family include Javanese (from Indonesia) and Tagalog (from the Philippines). In early historical times, Malay was spoken as a home language by people living around the Straits of Malacca (both on the lower tip of the Malay peninsula and on the nearby areas of the island of Sumatra). A simplified version of the language was also widely used throughout the archipelago (i.e. the islands of Southeast Asia) as a *lingua franca*, or trade language.

The influence of the Malay language became increasingly important within island Southeast Asia for a number of reasons. First, Malay continued to be used by traders from different areas who needed a common means of communication. Second, as the Malay people adopted Islam, they used the Malay language to discuss religious issues and write religious treatises. Malay was often used by Muslim theologians and missionaries as Islam spread throughout the islands of Southeast Asia. Third, Malay was used as a local language of administration, as, for example, sometimes occurred when the Dutch established control in certain areas of the Indonesian islands. Fourth, Malay was adopted as a unifying force in the Nationalist movement within Indonesia during the pre-Independence era.

As befitting its historical importance within the region, Malay became the basis for the national languages of Malaysia, Brunei, and Indonesia. While there are minor differences among these three variants of Malay, speakers from each country can generally understand each other without difficulty, and the governments of all three countries have cooperated in adopting a standardized spelling system.

Indigenous Peoples

About ten percent of Brunei's population consists of people from various local (non-Malay) ethnic groups. Classification of these groups is complicated by the fact that sometimes a single label has been applied by outsiders to collectively describe several populations that consider themselves distinct from each other. For example, the term *Bisaya* has been used by some to include the Tutongs, Belaits, Dusuns and Bukits of the western area of Brunei. Classifications based on one set of criteria, such as linguistic considerations or self-identification, do not always agree with those based on another set of criteria, such as geographical location (for example, the river system traditionally considered as a group's homeland). However, for official purposes it can be said that the government (as outlined in its proposals for citizenship in the early 1960's) recognized the following groups as indigenous races: the Belait, Bisaya, Brunei, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut, and Tutong.

In numerical terms, the Kedayans account for about half of the entire population of indigenous peoples in Brunei. They resemble the dominant Malay population in several important respects, including adherence to Islam. The Kedayans have been traditionally associated with rice farming and other agricultural pursuits, and are mostly concentrated in the Brunei-Muara and Temburong districts. Census reports indicate that in the early years of the twentieth century, the Kedayans accounted for nearly one quarter of the total population, while during the 1990's that figure had dropped to about five percent. A large factor in this apparent decline has been the assimilation of many Kedayan into the mainstream Brunei Malay culture.

The Bisaya people have also adapted to the surrounding Malay culture insofar as many have adopted Islam and discontinued traditional activities such as head-hunting. However, some still maintain old ways in terms of carrying out slash-and-burn agriculture or sago collection, and remnants of earlier beliefs persist, including harvest offerings to the gods. Other customs include placing items (such as clothing or cooking utensils) under small open shelters at the graves of the deceased for use in the afterlife.

The Penan are forest dwellers who traditionally followed a nomadic way of life, often moving to new areas to seek fresh sources of game and their principle food, sago. Aside from harvesting sago, the Penan used blowpipes with poison-tipped darts to hunt for animals. They also collected various forest products for trade with other groups closer to the coast. Very few Penan live in Brunei any more, and their way of life is changing due to pressures that encourage them to live in permanent settlements and adopt year-around farming.

The Murut population has also dwindled in recent years: in the late 1980's most of the remaining members inhabited longhouses in the sparsely populated Temburong district. These people were once head-hunters who supplied military might to the old sultans of Brunei. They grow rice in addition to hunting and fishing.

The Iban (also known as Sea Dyaks) are originally from the East Malaysian state of Sarawak. However, the group is mentioned here because Brunei once exerted control over much of the area that is now Sarawak, and because many Iban have entered modern Brunei from Sarawak. The Iban, well known as head-hunters, played an important role in the history of Sarawak during the reign of the famous "white Rajahs" of the Brooke

family (described in more detail in Chapter Two). Some Iban are now found in the Belait and Temburong river areas. Traditionally they have lived in longhouses and practiced shifting rice cultivation. In modern times, some have moved to more urban areas to work as laborers.

Traditional Basketware Design

Chinese

The Chinese have maintained contact with the island of Borneo for many centuries. Chinese ceramics have been found on Borneo's north coast dating back as far as one thousand years ago, and many antique Chinese jars and vases can still be found

among some of the island's forest-dwelling people, who prize them as family heirlooms. Written evidence from the Chinese also dates from early times. The Chinese Buddhist monk Fa Hsien, returning from a pilgrimage to India, stopped off at a site believed to be located somewhere on the west coast of Borneo in AD 414. In 1958, a royal tomb was discovered outside Nanking, China: it had been built for a ruler of the kingdom of P'o-ni (located in northern Borneo) who died while visiting China in 1408.

In modern Brunei, the Chinese are known for their prominent position in the commercial sector. With traditional values emphasizing education, professional achievement, and a strong work ethic, many Chinese have succeeded in technical and business-related fields. Accounting for about one fifth of the current population, the Chinese are often described as dominating much of the local economy.

Yet the Chinese occupy an ambiguous position within Brunei. Despite their success in the commercial arena, many Chinese have never been granted Bruneian citizenship, which involves not only a residency test (which many Chinese would pass) but also a complicated Malay language exam, which some claim requires such a detailed knowledge of the terms for local plants and animals that many native speakers would find it difficult to pass. Thus, in order to travel outside the country, such people must apply for international certificates of identity from the government. Furthermore, recent attempts to increase the representation of Brunei Malays within major industries such as Brunei Shell Petroleum have resulted in statements that opportunities for advancement would be limited for non-citizens (including, therefore, many Chinese).

Others

Brunei is also home to a sizable expatriate community, many of whom are occupy technical positions within the petroleum industry. Another large group of foreigners consists of Indonesian, Filipino, or Malaysian laborers who cross the border (often illegally) to obtain a variety of menial and casual-work jobs. Both groups provide services that are needed to keep the economy going, though there is an on-going effort to reduce dependence on foreign skilled labor.

Exercises:

I True or False

Write T (for true) or F (for false) next to each statement.

1) __ Brunei's borders touch the East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak.

2) __ The monsoon winds have been important in influencing the historical trading patterns between Brunei, China, and other Asian countries.

3) __ In the 1990's more than half of Brunei's land area was covered in tropical rain forest.

4) __ The fishing industry is the main source of Brunei's export revenues.

5) __ Early centers of power on Borneo's north coast were often situated at the mouth of a river.

6) __ Chinese contact with Brunei began in the nineteenth century.

7) __ Brunei is the ancient homeland of the Iban.

8) __ The Penan traditionally followed a nomadic way of life in the tropical rain forests of northern Borneo.

9) __ Variants of the Malay language are spoken in Brunei, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

10) __ Scholars believe that the area known as P'o-ni in ancient Chinese texts was located in Northern Borneo, and may have been associated with early Brunei.

11) __ An important part of Malay cultural identity is adherence to the Islamic religion.

12) __ Brunei's favorable balance of trade is due mainly to its gas and oil exports.

13) __ The first three sultans of Brunei included individuals of Chinese, Arabic, and Javanese heritage.

14) __ Japan has been a major market for Brunei's exports of liquefied natural gas.

15) __ The four administrative districts of the country are Brunei-Muara, Tutong, Belait, and Temburong.

II Map Knowledge

Write the following labels in their correct place on the map below.

1) South China Sea
2) Sarawak
3) Belait District
4) Tutong District
5) Brunei-Muara District
6) Temburong District
7) Bandar Seri Begawan
8) Labuan island
9) Brunei Bay
10) Limbang District

III Class Discussion

This chapter described the process by which some groups in Brunei, such as the Kedayan, assimilate into the Malay majority. What are the benefits and what are the obstacles to the various non-Malay groups in Brunei in trying to follow this path? What is the process by which immigrants adapt to life in your country? What does it take for them to be fully accepted?

IV For Further Study

Use your research skills to find out more about the religion of Islam. You may wish to focus your efforts by writing a short report about one of the following topics:

- the differences between the Sunni and Shiite sects
- the life and times of the Prophet Muhammad
- the spread of Islam to Southeast Asia
- the status of women in Islam
- the steps involved in making the *hajj* (pilgrimage)

V Creative Writing

1) Imagine that you are a photojournalist writing a story on the tropical forests of Brunei. Write an entry in your field notes describing your impressions of the forest, the wildlife that you have seen, and the way of life of people like the Penan who live there.

2) Imagine that you were a visitor to *Kampung Ayer* (the Water Village) 100 years ago. Describe how the daily life of the people was influenced by living in houses built on stilts above the water and by belonging to different areas of town, each of which specialized in a different craft.

Chapter Two: Early History

Brunei has a long and interesting history. Its present leader, Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, is the twenty-ninth ruler of what is one of the longest-lived monarchies in the world. In ancient days, the power and prestige of Brunei was well known throughout Southeast Asia, and merchants came from far and near to trade at the famous Water Village (Kampong Ayer). This chapter describes the history of Brunei from its early beginnings to its status as a protectorate under the British.

Study Objectives

After reading this chapter you should have a basic understanding of the following topics:

- ✓ Brunei's early trade contacts with other Asian countries
- ✓ the significance of the role of Islam within Brunei's development
- ✓ the influence of foreign trading partners (Asian and European)
- ✓ the extent of Brunei's power over northern Borneo and the Philippines
- ✓ the decline Brunei's power and size during the nineteenth century
- ✓ the role of the British (including the Brooke family of Sarawak)

The history of Brunei is full of adventure, and includes many colorful figures who pitted their skills against enemies in contests involving trade, diplomacy, and military power. During its golden age, Brunei was the most influential state in all of Borneo, and its control extended beyond the northern part of the island to include the Sulu archipelago and other parts of the Philippines. Before that time, the records of early Brunei are sparse, and much of the information on the development of the country has to be pieced together from archeological evidence, accounts from early travelers, and traditions and oral histories that have survived to be recorded in modern times. One such element of tradition includes the legend of the founding of Brunei.

The Legend of the Egg

According to local tradition, Brunei was founded by a man who was brought to earth from heaven in a huge egg. The epic poem called the Sha'er Awang Semaun recounts one version of this story, in which the man who emerges from the egg is called Sultan Ahmad Dewa Emas Kayangan, whose children formed the beginning of the royal family that has ruled Brunei for more than four centuries.

The man from the egg married a woman from the Limbang river area. One day he borrowed his father-in-law's spear to go hunting. He spotted a wild ox and threw the spear at it, wounding the creature before it ran off into the jungle with the spear still embedded in its side. Anxious to retrieve the spear and catch the animal, the young man

set off in pursuit after leaving a ring and a short note of explanation for his wife, who was already three months pregnant.

The long chase brought the man to another river district and to new adventures. Eventually he again married a local woman, and again left her with a ring and note when she was three months pregnant. This cycle was repeated until he had married a total of fourteen women from all around Brunei. Each bore him a son, the eldest of whom went out to search for his father. On his travels, the eldest son first came across the second-born son (identified by the note and ring that the father had left behind). The two of them continued the search, eventually finding all of the brothers and their father. The father and his sons returned to heaven for some time before coming back to establish the kingdom of Brunei, with its capital built on stilts over the Brunei river. The son named Alak Betatar was chosen to be the leader, and, after converting to Islam, became the first Muslim ruler of Brunei, Sultan Muhammad.

This story provides a symbolic legitimization for the early rulers. It incorporates the power of a god-like figure who descends from heaven and unites the various districts through bonds of marriage. While the imagery of the egg may date back to early times when Indian religion and culture was influential throughout much of the Southeast Asian region (Hindu mythology has tales of a golden egg), the conversion of Alak Betatar provides a link to Islam, a religion which has maintained its position of importance in Brunei ever since.

The Sha'er Awang Semaun also links the royal family of Brunei with the power and prestige of one of the royal families of the Malay peninsula. In a daring exploit, some

of the brothers capture the daughter of the Sultan of Johore and bring her back to Brunei to become the bride of Alak Betatar. The Sultan of Johore, upset over the loss of his daughter, sends a magical bird (the *burong pingai*) to find her. When the princess is finally located, she informs the bird that her father need not worry about her, for she is happily married to a descendent of the gods who rules over a great and powerful kingdom. Upon hearing this good news, the father journeys to Brunei and officially installs his son-in-law Alak Betatar as the first Sultan of Brunei. He (the Sultan of Johore) is also responsible for converting Alak Betatar and his brothers to Islam.

Though this story is perhaps more full of symbolic meaning and colorful myth than verifiable facts, it provides clues about what was considered important in imparting a sense of legitimacy and cultural unity for the early rulers of Brunei. Divine power (including hints from early Indian cultural legacy), association with a Malay royal family from the peninsula, the acceptance of Islam, and the unification of various local ethnic groups all provide a basis from which the royal family of Brunei could claim power over its domain.

Early Empires

It is difficult to provide an accurate chronology for the early period of Brunei's development. Evidence from early writings and archeological finds indicate that the Chinese were trading with communities on the north coast of Borneo (including the Sarawak river delta and possibly Brunei) before the Sumatran-based empire of Srivijaya

spread its control over those areas early in the ninth century. Chinese sources dating back to the tenth (and possibly as early as the ninth) centuries A.D. make mention of a land called P'o-ni, which some scholars believe may have been a precursor to the kingdom of Brunei. It is certain that from this time on there was an important trading center located on the northern coast of Borneo: both Arabic and Chinese accounts describe a water city in this area which attracted foreign merchants.

Whatever its exact location, P'o-ni endured as a trading center for several centuries. Tribute missions were sent from there to China in the year 1082, indicating the importance of the trade with China and the desire of the king of P'o-ni to assure himself the protection of the powerful Chinese emperor. During this time the influence of P'o-ni spread over the northern coast of Borneo and the islands of Sulu Sea. The city was known for its organized administration, its wealth, and its power. Frequent mention was made of its gold and of the value of one of its prized exports, camphor. The city was said to be guarded by over one hundred warships.

However, by the early fourteenth century the power of P'o-ni was fading just as the fortunes of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit began to rise. The *Negara Kertagama*, a chronicle of the Majapahit court from the year 1365, lists "Buruneng" (generally accepted as a reference to Brunei) as one of the states sending tribute to the Javanese kingdom. A few years later, in 1369, the Suluks, who were former vassals of P'o-ni from the southern Philippines, invaded the city. A fleet arrived from Majapahit to restore order in P'o-ni, but the Suluks had already sailed away with much of the city's wealth. P'o-ni

slowly began to re-establish its power as the Majapahit kingdom itself suffered a decline following the death of its most famous king, Hayam Wuruk, in 1398.

In 1405 and 1407 the king of P'o-ni sent tribute to China, for which he was rewarded with gifts and official insignia. This motivated the king to visit China personally in 1408, where, sadly, he died. As mentioned in chapter one, the Chinese emperor ordered a special tomb to be built for the deceased king, whose son was named as the new king of P'o-ni. This new king, Suri Wangsa, was given numerous gifts, including a stone tablet which was to be carried home and placed on the peak that would thereafter be known as the "Mountain of Lasting Tranquillity Preserving the State". To the Chinese, Brunei was then officially referred to as the "Country of Lasting Tranquillity", from which came the country's Arabic name "Brunei Darussalam", meaning "Brunei, Abode of Peace" - part of the official name of Brunei today.

During the remainder of the fifteenth century, Brunei continued to rebuild itself and reassert its power over former vassal states. To the east, the lands that acknowledged Brunei's dominance included the area now known as Sabah, the nearby Sulu islands, and even the island of Luzon in the northern Philippines. To the west, Brunei's influence extended beyond present-day Sarawak to include areas along the west coast of Borneo as far south as the Kapuas river (near Pontianak in the present-day Indonesian territory of Kalimantan).

Another important development in Brunei's history that may have occurred at about this time was the adoption of Islam. It is difficult to say exactly when this change took place. Tradition links the event to the reign of Brunei's first sultan, Muhammad

(known as Alak Betatar before his conversion). However, there are several interpretations of when this figure reigned. In modern Brunei, scholars from the Brunei History Centre have suggested that Sultan Muhammad ruled as early as 1363.

However, a European source from 1514 presents a different scenario. The Captain-General of Portuguese-controlled Malacca, Rui de Brito Patalim, wrote at that time that the king of Brunei was a pagan, though he noted that the merchants there were Muslims. By the end of 1515 a different Portuguese source in Malacca, Tome Pires, indicated that the king of Brunei had recently converted to Islam. These two sources would seem to show that the conversion took place between 1514 and 1515. Antonio Pigafetta's account of his visit to Brunei confirms that the country had already adopted Islam by 1521. Yet some scholars have claimed that when Pigafetta arrived in Brunei, he and his party were greeted at court by the fifth sultan (Bolkiah). It is difficult to be sure of this, since Pigafetta himself refers to the king only as "Raja Siripada," a term which refers to a title rather than a name of one of the sultans. However, if it were true that Pigafetta met with the fifth sultan, it seems likely that the first four sultans (who were also known to have adopted Islam) must have been in power well before the year 1514, the year for which de Brito claimed that the ruler of Brunei was still a pagan. One possible explanation for the seemingly contradictory pieces of evidence is that there may have been two important towns (one Muslim and one pagan) located at different areas on Brunei Bay. Pigafetta himself claimed that there was a non-Muslim king in residence in another town on the bay when he visited Brunei's water village in 1521. Perhaps de Brito's earlier understanding that the king of Brunei was not yet a Muslim in 1514 may

have been based on information provided by merchants who were describing this other king of Brunei Bay.

Despite the rival theories over the exact date at which the royal family of Brunei converted to Islam, there is no doubt that Brunei was already operating under the rule of Muslim sultans by the year 1521. It is also probable that Muslim traders visited and/or lived in Brunei before that time. After the Portuguese captured the strategic port of Malacca on the Malay peninsula in 1511, many Muslim merchants diverted their trade from that city and its new Catholic Portuguese rulers to other ports in the region which maintained a more welcoming attitude towards Islam, including the port of Brunei. Indeed, some scholars have argued that the fall of the great city of Malacca to the Portuguese allowed other regional powers, such as Brunei, the opportunity to assume a larger share of the trade carried on by Muslim merchants, and therefore the chance to develop greater power and prestige. To evaluate this claim and to examine other effects that may have been introduced (directly or indirectly) by the arrival of Europeans, it is useful to examine the nature of the European presence in the Southeast Asian area.

European Arrivals

Though the beginning of European influence in Southeast Asia is usually linked with the Portuguese capture of Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese were not the first Europeans to have made the trip to Asia. European interest in Asia dates back to the pre-Christian era. Alexander the Great led his Macedonian and Greek forces into India in 326

B.C. Alexander did not reach Southeast Asia, but tales of his legendary exploits spread as far as the Malay peninsula, where in later times the royal family of Malacca claimed to be his descendants (and adopted his name - 'Iskandar'). The Roman Empire established trade with parts of Asia, as described by Pliny the Elder and by Ptolemy, and as evidenced by the discovery of ancient Roman coins dating from the first century A.D. in numerous sites around India. Over one thousand years later, Marco Polo made the journey to China (and returned to Europe via Java and Sumatra in 1292). In subsequent years, a number of other less well-known European figures also ventured into Asia, including Odoric of Pordenone (who traveled to "Java the Great" in 1323), John Marignolli of Florence (who traveled through Southeast Asia in 1346) and Nicolo de Conti of Venice (who returned to Europe in 1444 after twenty-five years of travel, including time in Sumatra, Java, and Burma).

The accounts of these and other travelers kept European interest in Asia alive. European demand for spices, many of which were only grown in Asia (such as cloves, nutmeg, and mace), also provided a motivation for Europeans to travel to Asia. European merchants were eager to find a way to get to the source of these spices, where they could buy the products directly without paying the high prices that resulted when the spices were traded through a chain of intermediary merchants stretching from the Malay peninsula to India, the Middle East, and eventually to European distribution centers such as Venice.

Early efforts that encouraged exploration of a direct sea route to the east were undertaken by the Portuguese Prince Henry the Navigator, under whose rule were

launched several expeditions down the west coast of Africa. These were followed by the voyages of Bartholemew Diaz (1487), who succeeded in rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and Vasco da Gama (1497-1499), who reached ports of trade in India. From this point on the Portuguese quickly took control of a chain of ports stretching ever eastwards to the their final destination, the spice islands of the Moluccas. This was the motivation for Afonso de Albuquerque to sail into the port Malacca in 1511. The Portuguese were thus the first Europeans to arrive in force in Southeast Asia.

Though the Portuguese were primarily interested in the profit to be obtained from the lucrative spice trade, they were also motivated to spread the word of Christianity. The two objectives were not always easy to reconcile, for much of the existing trade in the region was already in the hands of Muslim merchants, who were often regarded as enemies by the Portuguese. Thus, Malacca, which had flourished as a prosperous center of Southeast Asian trade during the previous one hundred years, suffered a major decline in trade after being taken over by the Portuguese. Many Muslim traders simply took their business to other ports.

The Portuguese presence in Southeast Asia was soon challenged by the Spanish, who were, in Pigafetta's words, also seeking to "discover the spicery in the islands of Maluco." The Spanish sponsored Magellan's famous voyage around the globe with a view to developing new sea routes for the spice trade. Magellan himself died in an altercation with the inhabitants of a small island off the coast of Cebu in the Philippines, but the rest of his crew was able to continue the voyage, arriving in Brunei Bay in 1521.

Brunei in the Sixteenth Century

It is evident from the description of their meeting with the sultan of Brunei that the Spanish were impressed with the wealth and power of the city. Gold, silk, and gems were all to be seen in abundance at the court. Chinese bronze coins were used for trade. When the Spanish delegation approached the palace for their audience with the sultan, they saw that there were over one hundred officials and guards in attendance. Court ritual demanded that the greetings of the Spanish visitors were relayed through several intermediary courtiers before being conveyed to the sultan himself, who was visible in an inner chamber surrounded by many women. The Spanish also took note of the numerous cannons that were mounted within the brick fortifications of the palace, and even took time to count them all (56 made of bronze and 6 of iron).

At this time Brunei's influence extended well past the northern coast of Borneo. The remnants of Magellan's crew discovered this when, after leaving Brunei, they encountered a fleet of ships under the command of Brunei's "captain-general", who was also the son of the ruler of Luzon in the Philippines. This fleet had just returned from Lawe (in southern Borneo), where it had successfully forced the inhabitants to re-accept Bruneian authority. Later Spanish intervention in the Philippines would reveal the close links between the royal family of Brunei and the rulers of Luzon. When Don Miguel Lopez de Legazpi took over Manila in 1571, he wrested control of the city from the elderly Raja Matando (who was the "captain-general" met 50 years earlier by Magellan's crew) and Raja Sulaiman, a son-in-law of Sultan Abdul Kahar of Brunei.

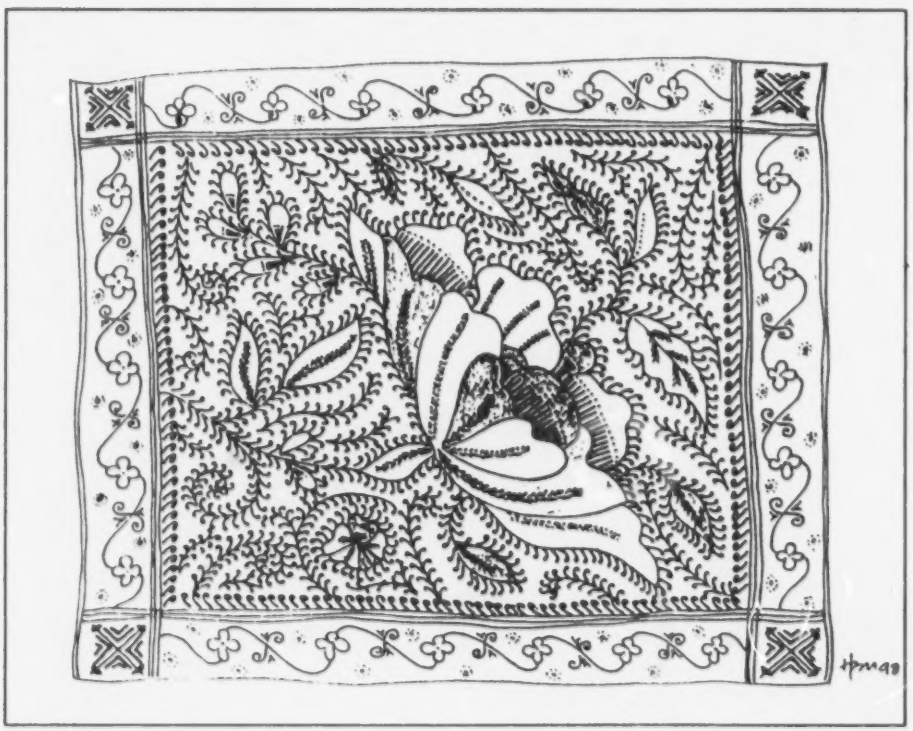
Soon after establishing a base in Manila, the Spanish tried to exert their authority over Brunei. At the time, Brunei was a threat to the Spanish in several ways. First, Brunei was a powerful kingdom with well established trade links and could compete with the commercial plans of the Spanish. Second, Brunei retained influence over the Philippine islands of Sulu, which the Spanish wanted to claim as their own. Third, Brunei was a center from which Muslim missionaries traveled to destinations in the Philippines, introducing Islam to people whom the Spanish wanted to convert to Christianity.

In 1578 the Spanish governor of the Philippines sent an expedition to Brunei, and presented an ultimatum to Sultan Abdul Kahar and his son, Saiful Rijal, demanding that they stop all Muslim missionary activity in Borneo and the Philippines and that they no longer collect tribute from anywhere in the Philippines. After the Sultan rejected these demands, the Spanish invaded the city, capturing over 150 pieces of artillery left by the Bruneian forces, who retreated into the interior. Yet soon after the Spanish took control of the water village, their soldiers were subdued by illness and were forced to retreat to Manila, leaving behind some local nobles as their representatives. However, the sultan was soon able to retake command of the city. The Spanish tried to reassert their claim to Brunei with another expedition in 1579, which was under orders to negotiate and not to fight, but the attempt ended in failure.

The Spanish expeditions reinforced previous accounts about the importance and the extent of Brunei's role in Southeast Asian trade. When one of Legazpi's ships intercepted a trading vessel from Brunei, the Spanish were able to get first-hand evidence about the regular trade which was then being carried out with China. The Bornean captain

of this trading ship described how the Chinese brought arms, pottery, copper goods, silk, and Indian cloths to Brunei to exchange for gold, shells, cinnamon, ginger, and wax.

When the Spanish arrived in Brunei in 1578, they discovered a large and prosperous city, which they compared to Venice. Traders from all over Southeast Asia were present in the city, which occupied a strategic location as a staging post at which traders sailing from Malacca could stop before continuing on to Manila, China, or the Moluccas.



Traditional Batik Design

The Spanish also found evidence concerning the Portuguese presence in Brunei, including a letter from the king of Portugal, which was found in the sultan's palace. Rather than attempt to take Brunei by force or convert its inhabitants to Christianity, the Portuguese had evidently decided to try to maintain friendly relations, and to limit their role in Brunei to one of trade.

This period of power and influence continued for Brunei into the beginning of the 17th century up to and including the reign of Sultan Hassan (1605-1619). The islands of Sulu, which had often struggled for their independence, were once again forced to accept Brunei as their overlord. As Brunei extended its territorial control, it also developed a reputation as a commercial center, and became famous for its brass cannons and other fine metalwork.

Cordial relations were established at this time with Aceh, one of the other great Islamic powers of Southeast Asia. Aceh, located at the northern tip of the island of Sumatra, was then experiencing what has been called its golden age under the rule of Sultan Iskandar Muda. Beginning his reign in 1607, Iskandar Muda eventually expanded his empire to include much of northern Sumatra and many parts of the Malay peninsula. Sultan Hassan of Brunei is said to have reorganized his own court administration after the Acehnese model, increasing the number of *wazir* (primary court officials) from two to four.

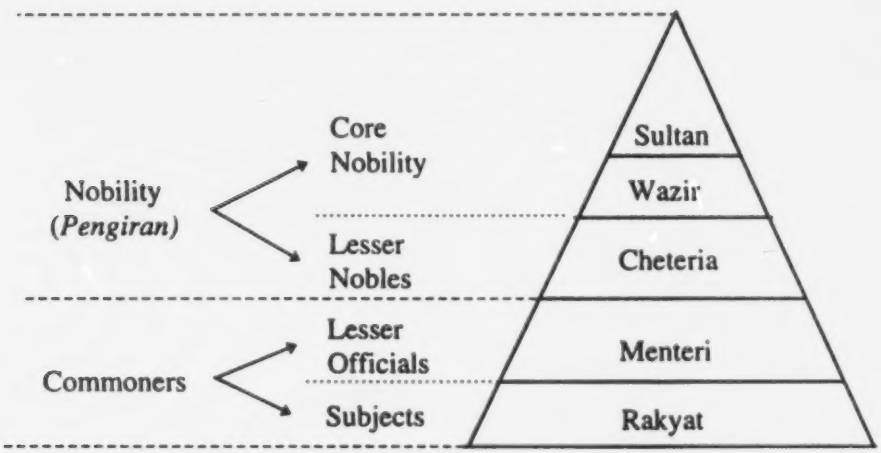
Brunei's system of government was based on a hierarchy of officials. At the top of the power structure was the sultan, to whom everyone else owed allegiance. The next level consisted of the four *wazir* posts, which were always held by members of nobility,

indicated by the use of the term *Pengiran*. The Pengiran Bendahara served as the sultan's right-hand man, acting as his deputy and taking special responsibility for the army and for matters of security. The Pengiran Temenggong was in charge of naval defense. The duties of the Pengiran Di-Gadong included administration of the treasury, the collection of taxes, and other matters of the court. Lastly, the Pengiran Pemancha was responsible for mediating the circle of advisors and for overseeing ceremonial affairs. The four *wazir* positions were traditionally held by members of the royal family, or core nobility. This explains why many of the men who served as Pengiran Bendahara were later chosen to become sultans.

Less prominent members of the nobility (pengiran) were used to fill the posts for the next level of administration, the *cheteria*. This level of officials provided support for the four *wazir*. One of the most influential of the *cheteria* positions was that of Pengiran Shahbandar, or harbor master. The Shahbandar was responsible for the fair and effective administration of all matters relating to the main port. This included overseeing trade and maintaining good relations with the foreign merchants and trade envoys who arrived from overseas. As the chief port official, the Shahbandar was theoretically an assistant to the Pengiran Temenggong (naval chief), but due to the important nature of his work the Shahbandar often reported directly to the sultan.

The next level of government consisted of the *menteri*, who were officials appointed from the commoner, i.e., non-noble class. The holders of these positions were responsible for carrying out directives received from higher level officials within their own districts. Their titles often included the term Orang Kaya (lit. "rich man") as befitting

their status as important men within their communities. These were the people who most often dealt directly with the common people, or *rakyat*.



It should be noted that the responsibilities of official positions at all levels of administration were subject to change to fit the requirements of the moment. Occasionally, certain positions (including key *wazir* posts) were left vacant for extended periods of time, requiring the remaining officials to take over extra duties. Furthermore, family ties, personal loyalty and individual ability were highly valued: those officials who demonstrated these characteristics to the sultan could be entrusted with special tasks and enjoy special status. In many ways, the political structure can be viewed as one in which personal power and authority emanated from the sultan to his direct assistants and thence to a series of lesser officials, resulting in a system in which certain nobles could wield considerable autonomy in administering their districts (even while they submitted to the ultimate authority of the sultan).

The Decline of Power

Internal conflict was largely responsible for Brunei's waning fortunes in the mid- to late-1600's. An official court chronicle, the *Selasilah*, recounts the story of Sultan Muhammad Ali, whose son killed the son of the Pengiran Bendahara Abdul Momin. In revenge for the death of his son, Abdul Mubin killed the sultan and installed himself on the throne. He also tried to appease the family of the deceased sultan (Muhammad Ali) by naming one of Ali's nephews to the position of Pengiran Bendahara. However, the nephew, known as Muhyiddin, eventually challenged the new sultan, who moved to a new location further down the Brunei river for safety.

For the next twelve years Muhyiddin and Sultan Abdul Mubin engaged in a contest for the control of Brunei. Neither side's army seemed able to make a decisive victory. Finally, Muhyiddin called on the support of the sea warriors of Sulu. There are differing interpretations as to how important these extra forces were in determining the final outcome, but it is known that soon after the Sulu warriors were requested, the supporters of Muhyiddin emerged victorious. At the final attack, the defeated Abdul Mubin demonstrated his defiance by ordering the royal crown and other insignia to be shot from a cannon into the bay, from which they have never been recovered.

In return for its part in helping Muhyiddin regain the throne, Sulu was able to assert itself as an independent kingdom and apparently also gained rights to much of the territory to the northeast of Brunei Bay (parts of the modern day state of Sabah). Whether these concessions were explicitly given to Sulu as rewards or whether they were simply seized by Sulu to take advantage of the situation, it is clear that Brunei had lost much of

its former influence in the areas to the northeast. Brunei also suffered setbacks in areas along the west coast of Borneo, where local rulers came under the sway of the Dutch (who had replaced the Portuguese as the main European power in the region).

As its power over vassal states diminished, Brunei could no longer collect as much tribute or control as much of the regional trade as it had done in earlier times. Its status gradually diminished, and the volume of its trade lessened. Brunei remained independent, but was no longer as important as it had been in times gone by. As Brunei experienced further difficult times, its leaders began looking toward Britain as a potential ally in the region.

The British Presence

While the Portuguese and Spanish had dominated European participation in the affairs of the Malay archipelago in the 16th century, the Dutch and the British took over these roles from the 17th century onwards. The British formed the English East India Company (EIC) in 1600, while the Dutch created their own United East India company (known by its Dutch initials as the VOC) two years later. During the next two centuries, the Dutch soon assumed the dominant position within Southeast Asia, while the English concentrated on developing their position in India. However the British retained a few isolated outposts in island Southeast Asia, and occasionally tried to establish new ones in areas not yet controlled by the Dutch. Such was the case when Lord Dalrymple sailed into the Sulu Sea and concluded a treaty of friendship with the local sultan in 1761.

Dalrymple's plans to establish a British post in the region were delayed for a number of reasons, but finally culminated more than a decade later in the construction of a settlement on the island of Blambangan, some 13 miles offshore of the northernmost point of Borneo. Unfortunately, the settlement was a disaster and less than a year and a half later was completely destroyed by pirates. In 1775 the survivors of the British settlement sailed away and landed in Brunei, where they arranged permission to take possession of the nearby island of Labuan to build a new post. But the East India Company soon ordered a withdrawal from the new Labuan site: several years later the Company made another brief attempt at settling the Blambangan and Labuan sites, but quickly withdrew from the region. It would be near the middle of the nineteenth century before British influence, in a rather different form, appeared again on the northwest coast of Borneo.

Though the British failed to establish a presence in the Sulu Sea region, they were able to establish a more successful enterprise at the western end of the Straits of Malacca. In 1786, just over ten years after the disastrous attempts at settling in Blambangan, a country trader named Francis Light obtained a treaty giving the British access to the island of Penang off the west coast of the Malay state of Kedah. Later, in 1819, Thomas Stamford Raffles established a British stronghold on the island of Singapore at the eastern end of the Straits of Malacca.

By 1824 the British had consolidated their control of the Straits by signing a treaty with the Dutch. Under this agreement, Britain took control of Malacca from the Dutch in exchange for their post in Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra. The treaty defined the

balance of power in the region by assigning the British control of the areas north of the Straits, i.e., the Malay peninsula, including Singapore island, while the Dutch were given the areas to the south and west (Sumatra). There was later to be some disagreement over how far to the east this division line was to be extended. The Dutch claimed at one point that the entire island of Borneo (on which they already had some settlements) ought to be included as one of the islands "south of Singapore" that should therefore fall under their sphere of influence, while the British wished to reserve the right to settle areas on the north coast where the Dutch had not yet settled. A line drawn due east from Singapore would divide the island of Borneo into two nearly equal pieces, and eventually the island was to be divided with a Dutch presence to the south and British influence to the north. For the British, the first step in this process came not through official government policy but rather through the efforts of a single private citizen, James Brooke.

Born in British-controlled India, James Brooke was an Englishman with a penchant for adventure. He served as an officer for the East India Company during the first Anglo-Burmese war, after which he left the Company and pursued his own interests. After his father died, he used his inheritance to buy and outfit a large yacht, the *Royalist*, and set sail for the South China Sea.

Arriving in Singapore in 1839, Brooke was asked by the Governor to deliver a message to Raja Muda Hashim, who was the Pengiran Bendahara of Brunei and uncle of the current sultan. When Brooke arrived in Sarawak and delivered the message, he found Raja Muda Hashim involved in attempts to maintain control over rebellious tribes who were seeking to gain their independence from Brunei. Brooke and Hashim developed a

friendship which was renewed a year later when Brooke again visited the region. This time Brooke provided assistance to stamp out the rebellion. In gratitude, Raja Muda Hashim conferred upon Brooke in 1841 the title of Governor of Sarawak.

Brooke (who served as the inspiration for the title character of Joseph Conrad's novel *Lord Jim*) lost little time in developing his own private realm. He consolidated power through alliances with local groups of Iban warriors, and sent expeditions to establish control over the areas surrounding his base in Kuching. Brooke was determined to put an end to the practice of slavery, headhunting, and piracy, which had grown to become a major menace to trade in the area. However, Brooke was not in a hurry to eradicate all local customs. Instead, he governed somewhat in the style of a local ruler, building himself an *istana* (palace) from which held court. By 1846 he had succeeded in gaining the official title of Raja of Sarawak from the Sultan of Brunei, and soon became known as the "White Raja."

Brooke remained a private British citizen, though it may be questioned exactly how his standing as a monarch of the independent territory of Sarawak affected his status as a subject of the British crown. Despite the fact that he did not officially represent the British government , Brooke was often successful in obtaining the services of the British navy in his attempts to eradicate piracy (which, incidentally, also opened the way for him to acquire more power throughout the area).

The British navy was initially sympathetic to Brooke's efforts, for piracy was a major threat to British trade. Furthermore, Britain was concerned with maintaining a safe corridor through which its traders could make the journey back and forth from Singapore

to China. The Chinese trade was very important to Britain, and the authorities in London were happy to see Sarawak develop into a safe port of call. At this time the French were gaining ground in Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia), while the Dutch ruled Sumatra, Java, the south of Borneo, and many other islands in the region, and the Spanish maintained their hold on the Philippines. All three of these European forces threatened Britain's ability to traverse the South China Sea in safety as it carried out its trade with China. Control over the northwest coast of Borneo would safeguard Britain's interests in the region.

The court of Brunei grew alarmed as Brooke's influence continued to grow. Raja Muda Hashim, who had helped Brooke establish himself in Sarawak, was murdered some time after his return to Brunei Town. This led Brooke, who considered Hashim a close friend and ally, to persuade the British navy to sail into Brunei Bay, where hostilities broke out and the defending forces had to retreat from the capital. By 1847, relations had improved as the British were granted use of Labuan island in Brunei Bay, and the two sides signed a treaty of friendship. According to this treaty, both sides pledged to cooperate in the elimination of piracy, and the sultan of Brunei agreed to seek British approval before ceding any of its land to another power. In the following year Brooke was installed as governor of Labuan and consul-general for Borneo.

Brooke used his new power and influence to intervene in a succession of disputes that broke out in 1852 upon the death of Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin II. Brooke favored a compromise candidate (the reigning Pengiran Bendahara) to become the new sultan, while the two original rivals for the throne were appointed to positions as *wazirs*. In

return, Brooke succeeded in annexing more and more territory from Brunei to add to his own state in Sarawak.

As Brooke continued to extend his personal empire, trouble erupted from an unexpected source. In 1857 a group of discontented Chinese miners rebelled against the Brooke regime. The miners captured the capital city of Kuching, and Brooke escaped with his life only by running from his house and swimming across the river to safety. After five days, Brooke and an army of Iban and Malay supporters retook the town and put down the revolt.

By 1863, James Brooke had extended his territory to include the Mukah and Bitulu river systems, which were well known for their concentration of sago palms. In the same year, Brooke "retired" from active involvement in his role as Raja of Sarawak and returned to England. His nephew, Charles Brooke, formally succeeded him as ruler of Sarawak in 1868.

While the rulers of Brunei tried to deal with the threat of the Brookes in Sarawak, they also became involved in a series of land concessions involving territories to the northeast (in the modern East Malaysian state of Sabah). Perhaps to counter the influence of the Brookes in the west, Sultan Abdul Mumin of Brunei in 1865 granted a ten year lease of Sabah land to the newly appointed American consul to Brunei, Charles Moses. The rights to these lands were soon transferred from Moses to another American citizen, Joseph Torrey, who was installed as the "Raja of Ambong." However this was not the start of another Brooke-style dynasty, for within a year Torrey's newly founded trade settlement ended in failure.

The rights to Sabah were then transferred from Torrey to the Austrian Consul-General of Hong Kong, Baron von Overbeck. When Austrian businessmen showed little interest in developing the new claim, von Overbeck formed a partnership with a British merchant named Alfred Dent. By this time, the claim to the land had been handed over several times to a succession of fortune hunters: to safeguard the authenticity of their claims Von Overbeck and Dent therefore ratified new agreements with the sultan for the territory. At the same time they established similar cession treaties with the sultan of Sulu, who also laid claim to the land. For total annual payments of 20,000 Straits dollars, the two businessmen acquired the rights to over 30,000 square miles of territory.

By 1881, the partnership of Dent and von Overbeck had sold their claims to a newly established trading venture, the British North Borneo Company. An official British charter outlined the responsibilities of the company in the region. For example, the company was to refrain from forming trading monopolies, and was instructed to discourage and gradually abolish the practice of slavery. A governor was to be appointed to administer the area and ensure the inhabitants' rights to their religion and customs. The British government retained the right to overrule the company on matters pertaining to foreign relations and the treatment of the inhabitants.

The cession of the Sabah territory and the subsequent creation of the British North Borneo Company demonstrated that Brunei no longer had any effective control over the local administration of the lands northeast of Brunei Bay. Meanwhile the Brookes of Sarawak had managed to gain control of most of the area to the southwest of Brunei Bay. In both instances the Sultan of Brunei received annual payments in return for occupation

of the land, but it was clear that the North Borneo and Sarawak were being administered as independent states. It seemed to many observers that there was a race between the North Borneo Company and the Brookes to take over as much land as possible from the sultan. Eventually Brunei's territory was reduced to the districts immediately surrounding Brunei Bay.

A final blow to the power of Brunei came in 1890, when Charles Brooke occupied the Limbang river district of Brunei. There had been some local opposition to the tax collection imposed by the Sultan of Brunei in this area, and Brooke used this to justify his actions, claiming that the district had no longer been under the effective control of the sultan. Brooke eventually received official recognition for his annexation of the Limbang from the British government, which handed down its decision without realizing that the loss of the Limbang district divided Brunei's remaining land into two unconnected segments. Sultan Hashim of Brunei never accepted this turn of events, and continued to oppose Sarawak's acquisition of the Limbang. He felt that he had been betrayed by the British government, with whom he had signed a treaty of protection just two years earlier.

The 1888 Protectorate Agreement between Britain and Brunei allowed the sultan to retain all rights to the internal administration of his country, while Britain assumed responsibility for Brunei's foreign relations and external defense. Britain accepted Charles Brooke's interpretation that the Limbang District had been independent of Brunei at the time that he incorporated the area into Sarawak, therefore relegating the matter to the category of "foreign relations" for which Britain, not Brunei, held ultimate authority.

In summary, Brunei experienced a number of transformations during its long history. Having established strong trade links with China from early times, Brunei emerged as an important participant in the ongoing trade of Southeast Asia. Expanding to include much of the island of Borneo and many areas of the Philippines, Brunei became a strong regional power. It was able to resist domination from the Portuguese and the Spanish, but later lost much of its territory to the British. As the end of the nineteenth century drew near, Brunei, accepted a treaty of protection which left it in charge of its internal affairs while losing its external sovereignty to the British. At the same time, Sarawak and British North Borneo, which had gained control over much of Brunei's former territories, accepted similar protectorate agreements. Without officially establishing any colonies there, Britain had gained effective control of most of the northern coast of Borneo. Yet despite its diminished size, Brunei had managed to keep its system of internal administration intact, and looked to British protection as a means to safeguard it from the predations of it neighbors. In the next century it would resist attempts to absorb it into neighboring states, and would eventually regain its full independence.

Exercises:

I True or False Write T (for true) or F (for false) next to each statement.

1) __ European accounts confirm that Islam was well established in Brunei by 1521.
2) __ The Portuguese attacked Brunei from their stronghold in Manila in 1578.
3) __ Javanese sources suggest that Brunei acknowledged the supremacy of the Majapahit empire in the mid to late fourteenth century.
4) __ The search for cheap spices was a major motivation for the Portuguese and other early Europeans to come to Southeast Asia.
5) __ When the Spanish began to establish themselves in Southeast Asia, Brunei was already an important kingdom that controlled much of Borneo, as well as the Sulu islands and other parts of the Philippines.
6) __ In Brunei, the term "Pengiran" referred to a member of the commoner (non-noble) class.
7) __ Lord Dalrymple was the first British Governor-General of Sarawak.
8) __ The British North Borneo Company was established by James Brooke.
9) __ Both James Brooke and the British government were concerned about the effects of piracy on the north coast of Borneo.
10) __ Sultan Hashim sold the rights to the Limbang District to Charles Brooke in 1890.

II Multiple Choice Circle the letter of the option that represents the best answer.

1) The legend of the egg

   a) recounts the story of how Alak Betatar came to rule Brunei
   b) claims that a god-like figure descended from heaven and united the districts of Brunei through bonds of marriage
   c) describes how the first sultan of Brunei adopted Islam
   d) all of the above

2) According to Antonio Pigafetta's visit of 1521

   a) the sultan of Brunei had not yet converted to Islam
   b) Brunei was a poorly developed town with very little trade
   c) there was a non-Muslim king who ruled a city at a different location on Brunei Bay
   d) Brunei was subject to the authority of the King of Luzon

3) In the late 16th century Brunei posed a threat to Spanish interests in the region for all of the following reasons **except**

a) Brunei had established a powerful trade network
b) Brunei retained control over some territory in the Philippines (specifically the Sulu Islands) that the Spanish also claimed
c) Brunei had allied themselves with the British
d) Brunei sponsored Muslim missionary activity in the surrounding areas.

4) The highest-ranking officials after the sultan were the

a) cheteria
b) wazir
c) menteri
d) rakyat

5) During the nineteenth century the two European powers with the most power in Borneo were

a) the Spanish and Portuguese
b) the Spanish and the British
c) the Dutch and the British
d) the Dutch and the Portuguese

6) James Brooke first established himself in Borneo by

a) helping to found the British North Borneo Company
b) assisting Lord Dalrymple acquire a settlement at Labuan
c) helping Raja Muda Hashim quell a rebellion in Sarawak
d) adopting the title Lord Jim and buying land rights from the Iban

7) During the mid nineteenth century Britain felt its access to the China trade was potentially threatened by all of the following **except**

a) the Spanish in the Philippines
b) the Portuguese in Malacca
c) the Dutch in the Indonesian islands
d) the French in Indochina

8) The title "Raja of Ambong" was given to

a) James Brooke
b) the Sultan of Sulu
c) the American merchant Joseph Torrey
d) Raja Muda Hashim

9) By 1888 Brunei, Sarawak, and North Borneo (Sabah)

a) had all become British colonies
b) were controlled by the Brooke family
c) had accepted Protectorate agreements with Britain
d) were under the effective control of Sultan Hashim of Brunei

10) The Limbang District

a) established itself as a fully independent country in 1890
b) was signed over to Sarawak by the Sultan of Brunei
c) was never officially recognized as part of Sarawak by the British government
d) seized by Charles Brooke in 1890

III Class Discussion

By the 1880's, much of Brunei's territory had been lost to Sarawak and British North Borneo, both of which were subject to British influence. In 1888 the Sultan of Brunei signed a treaty which allowed him to continue to rule Brunei "as an independent State, under the protection of Great Britain," with the condition that the "relations between the State of Brunei and all foreign states, including the States of Sarawak and North Borneo shall be conducted by Her Majesty's Government," and that no part of Brunei could be transferred to a foreign state without British approval.

Was this a wise move for Brunei? Could Britain be trusted to keep Brunei's best interests in mind? What were the advantages and disadvantages of such an agreement?

IV For Further Study

Uses your research skills to write a short report (to be handed to your teacher or presented to the class as an oral report) on one of the following topics.

1) the development of the spice trade in Southeast Asia
2) the expansion of Dutch control in Borneo
3) the life of James Brooke
4) the Spanish/Portuguese rivalry in Southeast Asia
5) the history of the Sulu archipelago
6) the voyage of Pigafetta and his description of Brunei
7) the history of Chinese trade with northern Borneo
8) the development and administration of the British North Borneo Company
9) British policy and influence in Southeast Asia during the 19th century
10) the traditional system of government in Brunei during the 19th century

V Creative Writing

Choose one of the following topics. Base your essay on your knowledge of actual events, but use your imagination to add details and 'atmosphere.'

- Imagine that you are James Brooke. The year is 1863, and you are about to retire from your role as 'Raja of Sarawak.' As you look back over your eventful life, write an entry in your journal describing some of your most memorable adventures.

- You are a senior court official in Brunei in the year 1521. Describe the appearance of the Spanish crew from Magellan's voyage, including the welcome that they receive from the sultan. Describe how they appear to be similar to and different from the other foreign traders who come to trade at the port of Brunei.

Chapter Three: Modern Brunei

During the twentieth century Brunei progressed from its status as a British Residency (in which a British official held effective control of the state) to a fully independent nation. This chapter outlines some of the major steps which led to this transformation.

On the way to independence, Brunei considered, but ultimately rejected, an offer to join the states of Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah (and, for a short while, Singapore) in forming the new country of Malaysia. Though small in size, Brunei was blessed by abundant natural resources, and emerged as one of the wealthiest of Southeast Asian nations.

Study Objectives

After reading this chapter you should have a basic understanding of the following topics:

- ✓ the effects of the British Residency period
- ✓ Brunei's involvement in World War II
- ✓ the negotiations to include Brunei as a state within Malaysia
- ✓ the road to Brunei's independence
- ✓ the ascension of Sultan Hassanal
- ✓ the place of modern Brunei within Southeast Asia

The Residency Period

At the close of the nineteenth century, Brunei, Sarawak, and British North Borneo were all protectorates of Great Britain. Sultan Hashim resisted all attempts to make him officially recognize the annexation of the Limbang district, including offers of large cash payments from Sarawak.

Though embittered that Britain had allowed Sarawak to enrich itself at Brunei's expense, the sultan realized that he had a better chance of resisting further losses if he was an ally, rather than an enemy, of Britain. Moreover, the sultan faced continuing troubles within what was left of his kingdom. Resentment from excessive taxation (including requests in some areas to pay taxes three years in advance) led to serious unrest in the Tutong and Belait districts. Mindful that similar issues had led to the rebellion and eventual loss of the Limbang District, the sultan was no doubt concerned about the possibility that Raja Charles Brooke might take advantage of the situation for his own ends. Indeed, Brooke did offer in 1902 to buy what was left of Brunei's land. Determined to resist these threats to his territory, the sultan agreed in 1906 to allow a British Resident to administer Brunei in exchange for assurances of "being fully protected by the British Government."

The British government had already used the residential system to administer its territories on the Malay peninsula, and had discussed prospects for its adoption in Brunei at the time that the Protectorate Agreement was put into effect. As the officials in London argued over the best way of dealing with their interests in north Borneo, it was decided to

send a fact-finding mission to Brunei to study how best to extend and protect British influence there. Thus, in 1904, Malcom McArthur arrived in Brunei as Acting Consul.

McArthur was an official of the Malayan Civil Service, and was thus familiar with the implementation of the residential system of government in use on the Malayan peninsula. Perhaps not surprisingly, he eventually recommended a similar style of administration for Brunei. After talking with the sultan it became clear that Brunei would never accept the legality of the transfer of the Limbang District, nor would it consider any further transfer of land to Sarawak. McArthur felt that the sultan would rather accept a British Resident than see Brunei relinquish its lands and sovereignty to Sarawak: indeed the sultan had described the loss of Limbang as the "loss of a limb" and Brooke's offer to buy the rest of Brunei as a proposal that would "take the breath of the Sultanate of Brunei."

McArthur noted that Sultan Hashim's refusal to accept payments from Sarawak for the Limbang District (or to sell the rights to any further areas of land) demonstrated a high level of commitment to maintaining the integrity of Brunei's boundaries. The sultan was in desperate need of money, for he was already in debt and had many expenses related to maintaining the traditional court retinue. The royal palace had suffered greatly from neglect, and the sultan had even fallen through a set of rotten floorboards the previous year. McArthur described the sultan's house as a "collection of hovels," and Hugh Clifford, who had served briefly as Governor of North Borneo in 1900, remarked that the whole city seemed a "miserable wreck of past glory." The fact that the sultan

would not accept money in exchange for more land (despite his desperate circumstances) indicated to McArthur the degree of resolve which the sultan maintained over this issue.

Despite the feelings of mutual respect which appeared to develop between McArthur and Sultan Hashim, it was clear to McArthur that the aged sultan's rule had grown ineffective. Indeed, McArthur wrote that Hashim maintained only "the shadow of power" and that there was "no government in the usual acceptance of the term," pointing out that there were no police force or jails, no uniform coinage, no paved roads, and no public buildings. Furthermore, despite the sultan's fervent desire to keep his country intact, many of the pengiran officials seemed only too eager to sell away their lands.

Hashim and McArthur both agreed that adoption of the residency system would help safeguard the existing territory of Brunei. The final agreement was concluded in January, 1906, and McArthur was named as the first resident. In May of that year Sultan Hashim died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Muhammad Jamalul Alam II.

Accepting a British Resident allowed Brunei to continue the institution of the royal family, including the positions of sultan and the *wazirs*, whose titles and positions were guaranteed to pass down to their heirs. These royal positions would also receive stipends from the British government in lieu of their traditional collection of tribute and taxes. However, while the sultan remained the nominal head of government, he would be obliged to accept all advice given to him by the resident (except for matters concerning the Islamic religion). Thus the resident wielded the real power in governing the country.

Under British control, Brunei began a gradual transformation from its traditional system of royal rule to an administration run by the British Civil Service. Public works

were constructed, including roads and piped water supplies. Government departments were created to administer postal services, medical facilities, and a police force. British presence in the region seemed more effective than it had some eight years before the Residency agreement, when a British civil servant sent to relieve the existing Consul was astonished to discover that the local "Consular Archives" was nothing more than a pile of official letters (many of which had never been opened) lying heaped upon the floor,.

The new British administration began a policy to centralize the collection of revenue. The rights to certain tracts of land were bought from their respective local rulers, thereby allowing subsequent taxes from these areas to be deposited directly into the government treasury. This process was complicated by the variety of land ownership which existed under traditional Bruneian law. Three main types of ownership were recognized. Lands belonging to the sultan were termed *Kerajaan*: these lands would provide revenue to the sultan but could not be transferred to other individuals (even within the royal family). All such *Kerajaan* lands were inherited from sultan to sultan. A second category of ownership existed for lands designated by the sultan for use by other state officials: *Kuripan* lands were given to various *wazir* and other pengiran to provide them with revenue for as long as they held their posts, after which the land reverted to the sultan to be redistributed to other officials. A third type of ownership recognized an individual's permanent right to the land. These *Tulin* areas and their associated taxes and revenue were owned and managed by pengiran, and would automatically be inherited by their heirs. The British tried to identify and compensate all such claims to the various categories of land.

In attempts to confirm the official borders of the country, the question of the Limbang District was again raised. At one point it was suggested that Sarawak return the Limbang River area in exchange for the Tutong and Belait districts, an offer apparently made in an effort to reorganize Brunei into a single geographical unit. Sarawak refused this deal, which was perhaps fortunate for Brunei, for the Belait district was later found to contain vast reserves of oil.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the most important export industries in Brunei were coal and cutch, an organic material derived from mangrove bark used for tanning leather and producing khaki dye. Other major industries included rubber, although rubber estates never reached the popularity or proportions that they did on the Malay peninsula. During this time a number of oil prospecting licenses were issued, but it was not until 1929 that commercially viable deposits of oil were discovered. After that time oil became the main source of revenue.

World War II

During the 1930's Brunei continued to develop new roads, communication facilities, and other amenities, all of which were largely funded by oil exports. This period of peaceful progress was abruptly halted by the Japanese invasion of World War II. By December 16, 1941, Japanese troops had landed in Brunei, and within a week the country was completely occupied. Similar events took place in the other British protectorates in Borneo: on Christmas Day, 1941, the capital of Sarawak, Kuching, was

occupied, and by January 6, 1942, Japanese forces took over North Borneo's capital of Jesselton (later renamed Kota Kinabalu).

Though the retreating British had destroyed many of the petroleum facilities, the Japanese soon resumed oil production and even began drilling new wells. This was consistent with the overall Japanese strategy for Southeast Asia, which emphasized exploitation of local natural resources to support the Japanese war effort.

While the British officials and other European residents in the region were interned in prison camps for the duration of the war, the local rulers were allowed to continue in their posts, subject, of course, to Japanese command. Conditions became increasingly harsh as the war progressed, and shortages of food, medicine, and many other commodities became commonplace. Many townspeople, both Malay and Chinese, drifted away to the countryside in an attempt to minimize contact with the occupying forces.

On June 10, 1945, Australian troops landed at several sites along Brunei's coast. Within a few days they had gained control of the city, though it took longer to subdue the Japanese forces that had retreated to the interior. The British Military Administration temporarily took control of the restoration of law and order. Two months later, news arrived of the final Japanese surrender, and the war was over.

Post War Developments

After the war, the British repaired the oil production facilities and began rebuilding Brunei Town, much of which had been destroyed by Allied bombing prior to

the Australian landings. Unlike events in nearby Indonesia, there was no real protest at the return of the European administration. Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin continued his rule in conjunction with the British until his death in 1950.

When Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin died, he left no sons to inherit the throne. The sultan had actually taken the unusual step of naming his daughter as the official heir apparent, and for some time there was discussion about letting her inherit his position. This idea was eventually dropped in favor of installing his younger brother, Omar Ali Saifuddin III.

The new sultan found himself confronted with a number of developments which affected him and the future of his country. Throughout post war Asia there was talk of nationalism and anti-colonialism. Indonesia was engaged in a four and one half year struggle against the Dutch for its freedom. Political developments on the Malay peninsula had resulted in the formation of the Malayan Union, later replaced by the Malayan Federation. Demands for more rapid change on the peninsula were evident in the activities of the communist guerrillas, whose armed raids persisted throughout the decade-long period know as "The Emergency.'

Closer to home, the third White Raja of Sarawak, Charles Vyner Brooke, felt compelled in the face of massive post-war reconstruction costs to surrender formal control of Sarawak to the British. The British North Borneo Company followed suit, and thus both Sarawak and North Borneo (Sabah) finally became British Crown Colonies. The British reorganized their own administrative posts throughout the region, and

reassigned the duties of high commissioner for Brunei (formerly held by the governor-general of Malaya) to the governor of Sarawak.

As these changes were taking place, several ideas were proposed for the future of the British territories in Southeast Asia. One plan suggested uniting all of these holdings into a single Malaysian federation. Another alternative involved merging the three northern Borneo territories into a Bornean federation. Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III was forced to address these issues and decide upon a course of action to lead his country out from the control of the British resident.

In 1953 the sultan announced the formation of an Advisory Committee to investigate the issues involved in establishing a constitution. District advisory councils were created the following year. In addition to sponsoring these political steps, the sultan encouraged economic development, as evidenced in the drafting of the First Brunei Development Plan. Under this five year initiative, the government undertook a $100 million program to improve the state's infrastructure, including transportation, communications, and electrical power, as well as education and medical facilities.

While the sultan proceeded with his plans, a new figure emerged who would eventually provide a challenge for the leadership of the country. Sheikh Ahmad Azahari was born in 1929 on the island of Labuan. During the upheavals of World War II, the Japanese had sent Azahari to study in Java, where he eventually took the opportunity to join an anti-Japanese resistance movement. At the end of the war, Azahari remained in Indonesia to support the revolution against the Dutch. It is, therefore, perhaps not

surprising that he later returned to Brunei to become involved in the nationalist movement.

Azahari made several attempts at political organization, and succeeded in gaining official recognition for his Partai Rakyat Brunei (Brunei People's Party) in 1956. This was the first major political party to appear in Brunei, and soon claimed to have 16,000 members (which represented a significant percentage of the total adult population at the time). The purpose of the party seemed to change over time. The party's manifesto referred to the formation of a single Malay nation covering the entire archipelago, a scheme that was reminiscent of Indonesian President Sukarno's earlier dream of a similar far-flung state. However, the party also talked about self-government for Brunei (presumably as its own independent state), while also briefly supporting the idea of incorporation into a Malaysian Federation along with Malaya, Sarawak, North Borneo, and Singapore. Later on it supported the idea of a single North Bornean state in which North Borneo and Sarawak would rejoin Brunei to restore the sultanate to its former glory.

The Road to Independence

Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III responded to the various independence-related schemes of the Brunei People's Party by taking cautious steps to begin introducing representative government. More progress was made on creating a constitution, and in 1959 the sultan left for talks in London on Brunei's future. The sultan may have made a

mistake by not including representatives of the People's Party in the London delegation, for later Azahari would criticize the outcome of the negotiations and complain that his party had been left out of the discussion process.

The results of the London trip included an agreement with Britain to return internal self-rule to Brunei. The old 1906 Agreement was canceled, and the post of British Resident was abolished. A high commissioner would advise the sultan and serve as a liaison for Britain, which would continue to exercise control of foreign affairs, defense, and internal security. The new constitution kept all authority in the hands of the sultan, but allowed for the creation of a number of councils, some of which were to include elected members. However the sultan did not keep his previous promise to ensure that the new Legislative Council would contain a majority of elected members: by allowing appointed members in this council to retain the majority of seats the sultan incurred the anger of Azahari and the People's Party.

The 1959 Agreement was an important first step toward full autonomy, despite the criticism that it did not provide for a fully elected government. A decision still had to be made about whether Brunei would seek to gain independence on its own or whether it would merge with neighboring territories to form a larger independent state. The sultan had already indicated that he was not interested in the idea of forming a federation with Britain's other two protectorates in northern Borneo, although this plan had the support of the People's Party. As early as 1958 he hinted that Brunei would be better off by considering a merger with the newly independent Federation of Malaya.

As time went on, relations between Brunei and the Federation of Malaya became increasingly cordial, and the possibility of a merger looked promising. Representatives from Malaya, including Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman, made friendly visits to Brunei and were invited to attend ceremonial events. Brunei assisted Malaya by providing it with a large loan. Further visits resulted in more statements of good will and agreement on the desirability of closer association between the two countries. In 1960, the Malayan Prime Minister remarked to a group of Brunei students in London that Brunei would become a part of the Federation in the not too distant future. Unfortunately for these plans, the Prime Minister also added that Brunei was too small to achieve independence on its own, and too small to survive as a member in the Commonwealth. These last comments received a frosty response in Brunei, where they were interpreted as an insult to the country's pride. Momentum for the merger slowed visibly for some time after these remarks, though the idea continued to be discussed.

By this time the concept of a merger had been widened to include Singapore, Sarawak, and North Borneo in addition to Malaya and Brunei. Malayan Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman had first made this suggestion public at a 1961 meeting of the Foreign Correspondents' Association of Southeast Asia in Singapore. A commission was formed to seek the views of the inhabitants of Sarawak and North Borneo regarding this merger. The People's Party immediately protested that the commission should also investigate the views of the people of Brunei, but the request was denied on the grounds that Brunei, as a semi-independent state (unlike the colonies of Sarawak and North Borneo), had its own internal self government, i.e., the sultan, to decide the issue.

Sultan Omar tried to soften Azahari's opposition to the merger with Malaysia by including him in the Legislative Council and by appointing him to a commission designed to discover the Brunei people's views on the Malaysian proposal. But rather than lead him into closer cooperation with the sultan, these steps gave Azahari the opportunity to gain public support for his views. The commission found that most people were against the merger with Malaya, a result that may have been influenced by Malaya's recent posting of civil servants and teachers to Brunei. While Malaya claimed that it was simply trying to help provide expertise for its neighbor, many in Brunei resented the intrusion (and the fact that Malayan officials were now occupying positions which the locals would like to have filled), and some viewed the move as a colonial-style attempt to dominate Brunei.

Despite the results of the commission, the sultan decided to proceed with talks on the Malaysia issue. Meanwhile Azahari continued to advocate a Bornean Federation, and the growth in membership of his party appeared to indicate public support for this view. Azahari looked forward to the upcoming Legislative Council elections as an opportunity to voice his opposition to the Malaysia proposal. These elections were postponed several times by the sultan, who was wary of the trouble they might bring him. However, after the People's Party organized a number of rallies and a petition to the British High Commissioner, the elections were finally scheduled for August, 1962.

The elections resulted in a landslide victory for the People's Party, which won 54 of the 55 district council seats, and all 16 of the representatives to the Legislative Council. Ironically, Azahari himself had not been able to run for office because he failed

to meet the citizenship requirements (having been born on the nearby island of Labuan, which was under the jurisdiction of North Borneo).

Sultan Omar responded by delaying the first meeting of the Legislative Council. But the meeting could not be delayed forever, and the new council was finally convened at the end of the year. One of the first motions submitted by the People's Party was a demand that Britain comply with the following four points: 1) return Sarawak and North Borneo to Brunei; 2) federate the three Borneo territories; 3) keep Brunei out of Malaysia; and 4) grant full independence to Brunei in 1963.

The Speaker of the Legislative Council refused to allow any discussion of the motion, claiming that it did not concern the government of Brunei, and was directed only at the governments of Britain and Malaya. Having failed at attempts to achieve his goals through legitimate political means, Azahari turned to more radical measures. Three days later, on December 8, 1962, an armed revolt broke out in Brunei.

The Brunei Rebellion

By the time of the attack, Azahari had left the country and traveled to Manila. His forces in Brunei directed their efforts to taking over the local police stations. Oddly, the purpose of the revolt was not to put the existing sultan out of power, but rather in some ways to expand the sultan's power by proclaiming him "Sri Mahkota Negara," the head of a new country called the Unitary State of North Borneo, which was to consist of Brunei, Sarawak, and North Borneo. A declaration of independence was read by Azahari's

Deputy Prime Minister, and plans were made to find the sultan and hold a public ceremony to confirm the existence of the new state. The sultan had no intention of cooperating with this plan, and is said to have prepared for a confrontation with the rebels by arming himself with a submachine gun and a shotgun before finally being escorted by loyal forces to the safety of the main police station.

The revolt was not a success. Azahari had of course envisioned himself as the real center of power for the new state. By proclaiming himself Prime Minister of the Unitary State of North Borneo, Azahari lost any chance he might have had for widespread support from Sarawak and North Borneo, whose leaders had interpreted Azahari's earlier proposal of a unified northern Borneo as a democratic federation of equals. Neither Sarawak nor North Borneo was eager to be forced into submitting to the rule of a new and expanded Brunei.

Chances for a rebel victory were also undermined by the sultan's refusal to cooperate with Azahari's scheme. Because the rebels had intended to remain loyal to the sultan, they were confused and demoralized when the sultan broadcast his opposition to the plan. Poor coordination and lack of supplies also hampered the operation. Many of the rebels deserted or surrendered: those that did not had to face a force of some 2000 British troops which had been rushed to the scene. Within a week, the revolt in Brunei was effectively over, and after a second week most of the remaining resistance units that had spilled over into Sarawak and North Borneo had been crushed. Mopping up operations and patrols continued for several months to flush out the handful of rebels (including some of the main organizers) who had escaped to the jungle.

Although Azahari's political party had been very popular, his attempts at recreating the glories of a bygone era when Brunei ruled over the entire northern coast of Borneo ended with disaster. Azahari fled to Indonesia, where he remained in exile. The People's Party was immediately banned, and the sultan declared a state of emergency.

Resolution of the Malaysia Issue

Though the rebellion had been extinguished quickly, it provided a rude shock to Sultan Omar, who now felt that incorporation into Malaysia would provide a greater degree of security than could be hoped for if Brunei became a tiny independent state. Talks with Malaya continued, but although progress was made on many issues, some points were left undefined or ambiguous. This led to later differences in interpretation that eventually soured the negotiations. Much of the problem seemed to revolve around how much control Brunei would maintain over its oil revenues. The sultan agreed to contribute an annual payment of 40 million Malayan dollars to the central government, but wanted to keep the contribution voluntary, while the Malayan negotiators wanted to make it compulsory. Furthermore, Brunei was assured that it would be able to keep all of its oil revenue for the first ten years after joining Malaysia: after that point the Malayans wanted to make sure all such revenue went to the federal treasury, while Sultan Omar wanted to keep the issue open to further negotiation.

Another sticking point reportedly involved the status of the Brunei Sultan within the Malaysian Council of Rulers. Malaya had already implemented a procedure whereby

the traditional royal rulers of the various member states rotated the honor of serving a five year term as the supreme monarch of the country, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. The order of rotation was determined by seniority (measured by the date of joining the council), and the Sultan of Brunei was apparently concerned that he would join this council of rulers as a junior member, thus delaying (and perhaps preventing) his own assumption of the role of Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Sultan Omar denied that this was a major issue.

Negotiations were kept open until the last moment, and Sultan Omar even led a Bruneian delegation to London to attend the formal signing ceremony for the Malaysia Agreement. But the negotiators failed to reach an agreement to include Brunei, and plans went ahead to form Malaysia out of the Malayan Federation, Singapore, Sarawak, and North Borneo (renamed Sabah).

Independence for Malaysia in 1963 meant that Brunei was now the only territory in Southeast Asia that was still partly under British control. Britain was anxious for the sultan to introduce a more democratic form of government in preparation for a complete British withdrawal. Agreements were made to hold new elections in 1965 for a revised Cabinet and Legislative Council.

A number of political parties emerged in time to participate in these elections. None were very strong, and many candidates ran as independents. After the elections, however, a political consolidation took place in which many of the parties merged to form the Brunei People's Independence Party. Under the leadership of the former vice-president of the banned People's Party, this new group made vocal demands for full independence.

A memorandum was sent to the British government requesting immediate independence for Brunei. Britain responded by saying that it was already willing to grant this request, a statement which effectively put pressure on Sultan Omar to initiate decisive action. Apparently hesitant to accept sudden changes, Sultan Omar decided to abdicate the throne in favor of his son, Hassanal Bolkiah. This provided a temporary distraction from the issues of independence and democratization. The new sultan had made no commitments to reform, and could reasonably be expected to require some time to master the responsibilities of state before introducing major changes. During the early years of Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah's reign, it seemed clear that his father still retained a considerable amount of influence.

Brunei under the reign of Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah

Brunei's new sultan, officially referred to as His Majesty Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan Negara Brunei Darussalam, was installed as sultan with full ceremony in August, 1968.

At this time relations with Malaysia were somewhat cool. The tension dated back to Brunei's decision not to join Malaysia, a move which had eliminated a major potential source of income for Malaysia. Further deterioration of good will was caused by the opening of a People's Party branch in Malaysia, as well as Malaysian sponsorship of a delegation to the United Nations calling on Brunei to lift the ban on political parties and to hold free elections. Brunei responded by renewing its claim to the Limbang District

and by withdrawing Bruneian students who had been studying in Malaysia. However, by the late 1970's there were indications that more cordial relations could be established. Various royal ceremonies in both countries provided officials with the opportunity to make visits, and Brunei's young sultan also took part in friendly polo matches with some of his royal colleagues in Malaysia.

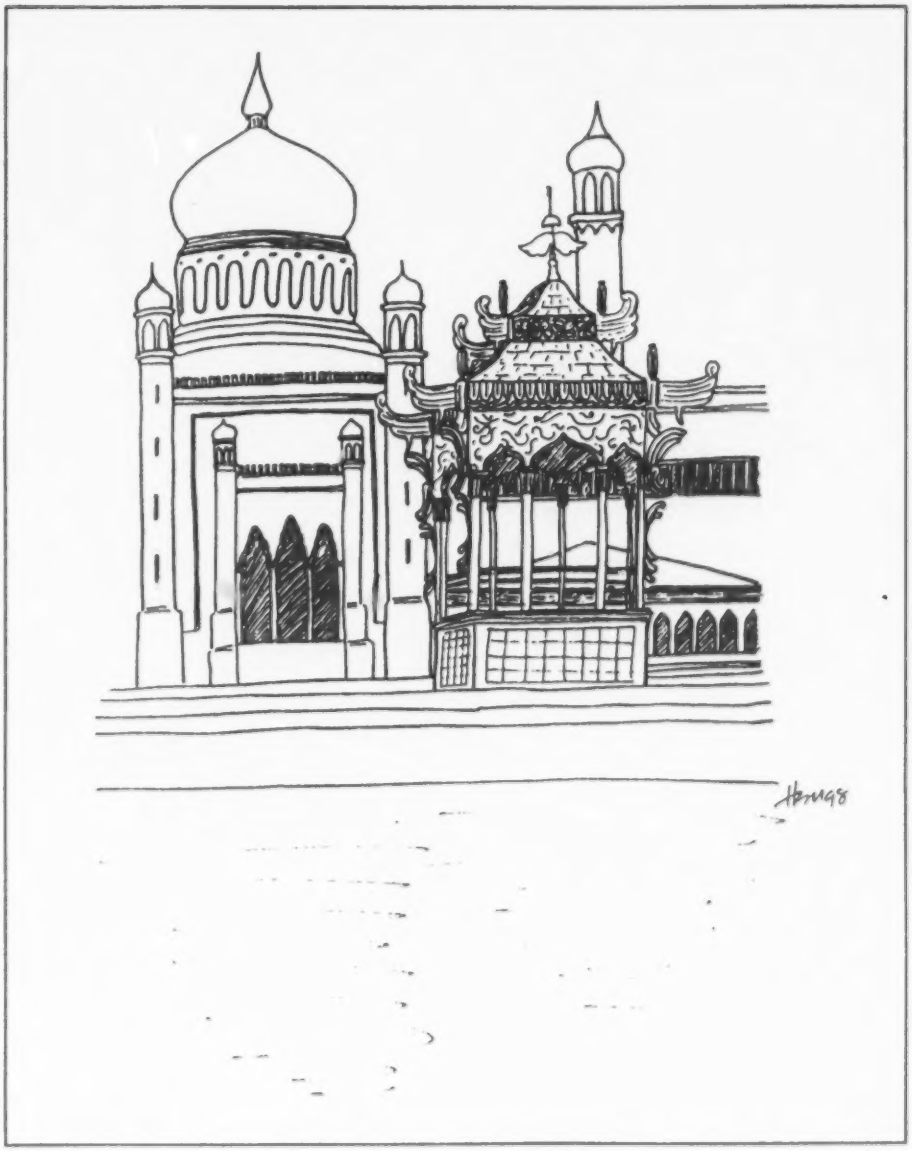
Schoolgirls in Modern Brunei

On the political front, progress was finally made in fixing a date for Britain to relinquish all of its remaining control over Brunei's foreign affairs and defense. A Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was signed in 1979 assuring that Brunei would achieve full independence by the end of 1983. (The actual date for independence was later set for January 1, 1984.) Diplomatic visits were made to all of the existing members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), and Brunei was admitted to the group one week after gaining independence. Membership in ASEAN provided a welcome degree of security for Brunei.

Public participation in the domestic political process remained limited. A state of emergency, originally announced in 1962 in response to the Azahari rebellion, has continued to be renewed at two-year intervals. The Legislative Council was suspended in 1984 and no further elections were held. The short-lived Brunei National Democratic Party, which was formed in 1985 and called for free elections and an end to emergency rule, was banned in 1988. Power has remained concentrated in the hands of the sultan. Most important ministerial posts are held by members of the royal family, and the sultan himself also serves as Prime Minister, Defense Minister, chancellor of the national university, superintendent general of the Royal Brunei Police, and leader of the Islamic faith.

Economic development has continued to emphasize diversification into areas outside the gas and petroleum industry. Oil and gas revenue declined from 70 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the early 1980's to 37 percent of GDP in 1996, though it still accounted for approximately 90 percent of all export income. Reserves of

oil and gas are predicted to last for several more decades. Although oil has played a large role in the economy of the country, Brunei is not a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).



Detail of the Omar Ali Saifuddin Mosque in Bandar Seri Begawan

Brunei's wealth has allowed it to finance some of the most comprehensive social service programs of any country in the region. During the Sixth Five Year Development Plan (1991-1995), the government allocated nearly thirty percent of its total $5 billion budget to public welfare expenditures, including housing, education, health care, and public facilities. A further twenty percent was allotted to developing the transportation and communications industries, including roads, telecommunications, radio, television, marine services, civil aviation, and postal services. Civil service jobs provide employment for a large percentage of the population, and offer comprehensive and attractive benefits.

Internationally, Brunei is a member of the United Nations and the Commonwealth, as well as the Non-Aligned movement and the Organization of Islamic Countries. It is also active in several regional groups, such as ASEAN and the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), which seeks to promote free trade in the Pacific Basin. In 1994 Brunei became involved in the East ASEAN Growth Area (EAGA), a regional cooperative association which also includes the East Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah, the southern Philippine island of Mindanao, and the Indonesian provinces of Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Maluku. Some of the priorities of the EAGA include improving infrastructure, emphasizing education and training, and attracting industry and commerce to the region.

In 1992 celebrations were held to commemorate the first twenty-five years of Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah's reign. During that time Brunei was increasingly able to

reassert itself as an important power in the region. Despite its small size, Brunei has become an active participant in regional and international associations. Abundant natural resources have helped fund a series of development programs, and the country's leadership has had the foresight to begin diversifying the economy in anticipation of the day when the oil and gas can no longer provide it with a significant source of income.

At the end of the 1990's Brunei continued to appear stable, prosperous, and politically conservative. Power remained in the hands of its twenty-ninth sultan, and many of the traditional institutions of state had been preserved, while the issue of popular democratic representation lay dormant. The Islamic religion continued to play an important role within the country, and was a cornerstone of the national ideology of Melayu Islam Beraja (MIB), or Malay Islamic Monarchy. As Brunei prepared to move into the next century, it had succeeded in carving a distinctive niche for itself: whether the country can continue to remain in that position in a rapidly changing world will only be revealed by the passage of time.

Exercises:

I True or False Write T (for true) or F (for false) next to each statement.

1) __ The residential system of administration begun in Brunei in 1906 was similar in function to the British system of rule on the Malay peninsula
2) __ Brunei was a wealthy, prosperous, and powerful state when it adopted the residential system
3) __ In the early twentieth century Brunei produced coal, cutch, and rubber.
4) __ The Brooke dynasty continued to rule Sarawak as an independent kingdom until Sarawak was incorporated into Malaysia in 1963.
5) __ The 1959 Agreement resulted in the creation of some elected councils but fell short of establishing a fully representative government in the form of a parliamentary democracy.
6) __ The object of the 1962 rebellion was to abolish the role of the sultan and to ensure that Brunei remained independent of Sarawak and Sabah.
7) __ One point of disagreement in the talks between Malaya and Brunei over the Malaysia issue centered around who would control Brunei's oil wealth.
8) __ After gaining independence, Brunei seemed reluctant to join ASEAN, and waited two years before becoming a member.
9) __ From the 1980's to the 1990's, revenue from gas and oil provided an increasingly large percentage of Brunei's GDP.
10) __ Since 1984, the role of the sultan has been largely ceremonial, and real political power rests with the Legislative Council.

II Multiple Choice Circle the letter of the option that represents the best answer.

1) During the Residency Period, the role of the British Resident in Brunei was
   a) limited to advising the sultan on matters directly related to British citizens residing in Brunei
   b) to effectively rule the country by giving advice to the sultan that had to be followed
   c) to represent the interests of the British Residents ruling on the Malay peninsula
   d) to take over all matters of administration by abolishing the traditional government system, including the role of sultan and the wazirs

2) Identify which of the following terms does **not** refer to a traditional type of land membership in Brunei

a) kerajaan
b) kuripan
c) pengiran
d) tulin

3) In the three decades before 1929, one of the biggest export industries in Brunei was

a) oil
b) coal
c) bezoar stones
d) liquefied natural gas

4) During the Japanese occupation of Brunei during World War II,

a) the British never lost access to Brunei's oil fields
b) All local rulers, including the sultan, were interned along with the European officials
c) the Japanese were forced to leave Brunei two years before the end of the war
d) the Japanese succeeded in gaining control of the country within a week of their landing in Brunei

5) After the end of World War II

a) Sultan Tajuddin's daughter inherited the throne
b) mass protests delayed the resumption of British rule in Brunei
c) communist guerrillas terrorized Brunei for ten years during the Emergency
d) Sarawak and North Borneo became official colonies of Britain

6) The leader of the People's Party in Brunei was

a) the nephew of Charles Vyner Brooke
b) Ahmad Tajuddin
c) Omar Ali Saifuddin III
d) Ahmad Azahari

7) The 1962 Rebellion

a) was a poorly coordinated attempt to unite Sarawak and Sabah with Brunei
b) was a palace coup attempt led by the sultan's son
c) was a communist plot to make Brunei share its oil wealth with Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah
d) was mainly an attempt by the Philippine government to reassert age-old claims to parts of northeast Borneo

8) When Malaysia was declared a new and independent country in 1963, it consisted of

a) Malaya, Sarawak, Sabah, and Brunei
b) Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah
c) Malaya, Sarawak, Sabah, and Singapore
d) Malaya, Sarawak, Sabah, and Kalimantan

9) Brunei achieved full independence in

a) 1959
b) 1962
c) 1979
d) 1984

10) In the 1980's Brunei belonged to

a) ASEAN
b) APEC
c) EAGA
d) all of the above

III For Class Discussion

Form teams to debate for and against the following statements.

1) "In 1963 Brunei was a small state that had just experienced an attempted rebellion. Its oil wealth and small size made it a tempting target for potential aggressors in the region. For these and other reasons, Brunei should have accepted the offer to join the new country of Malaysia."

[You may wish to consider Brunei's cultural links to the Malays (as well as its distinctive mix of other ethnic groups), the reasons for the rebellion, the probable role of Brunei within a larger Malaysia, and the possible role of other nearby countries.]

2) "The sultan has traditionally been the ultimate source of authority and power in Brunei. Any sudden attempt to replace that system by introducing full democracy would pose a threat to the security and stability of the country."

IV For Further Research

Use your research skills to create a short report on one of the following topics.

1) The British Residential system of administration in Brunei and the Malay peninsula.
2) The 1962 rebellion in Brunei.
3) The gas and oil industry in Brunei.
4) The role of ASEAN.
5) The place of Islam in modern Brunei society.
6) The life of Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah.
7) The role of APEC.
8) The effect of logging, slash and burn agriculture, and forest fires on the remaining tropical rain forests of Brunei.
9) The ways in which countries within the Borneo region have tried to resolve lingering territorial disputes, such as the Limbang District, the Philippine claims to parts of Sabah, and the multiple claims to the Spratly Islands.
10) Any of the ethnic minority groups in modern Brunei.

V Creative Writing

1) Imagine that you are Hassanal Bolkiah in 1968 on the eve of your formal coronation as the 29th Sultan of Brunei. Write a speech for the occasion reminding the people of Brunei's past achievements and outlining your vision for Brunei's future (including economic, political, and social issues).

2) The 1962 rebellion has just begun. Assume the identity of Azahari and write a short press release describing and defending the purpose of your actions. Then assume the identity of Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin and write the script for a radio announcement to be broadcast in Brunei outlining your reaction to these events.

Key to Exercises

CHAPTER ONE

1) _F_ Brunei's borders touch the East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak.

2) _T_ The monsoon winds have been important in influencing the historical trading patterns between Brunei, China, and other Asian countries.

3) _T_ In the 1990's more than half of Brunei's land area was covered in tropical rain forest.

4) _F_ The fishing industry is the main source of Brunei's export revenues.

5) _T_ Early centers of power on Borneo's north coast were often situated at the mouth of a river.

6) _F_ Chinese contact with Brunei began in the nineteenth century.

7) _F_ Brunei is the ancient homeland of the Iban.

8) _T_ The Penan traditionally followed a nomadic way of life in the tropical rain forests of northern Borneo.

9) _T_ Variants of the Malay language are spoken in Brunei, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

10) _T_ Scholars believe that the area known as P'o-ni in ancient Chinese texts was located in Northern Borneo, and may have been associated with early Brunei.

11) _T_ An important part of Malay cultural identity is adherence to the Islamic religion.

12) _T_ Brunei's favorable balance of trade is due mainly to its gas and oil exports.

13) _F_ The first three sultans of Brunei included individuals of Chinese, Arabic, and Javanese heritage.

14) _T_ Japan has been a major market for Brunei's exports of liquefied natural gas.

15) _T_ The four administrative districts of the country are Brunei-Muara, Tutong, Belait, and Temburong.

II Map Knowledge

Write the following labels in their correct place on the map below.

1) South China Sea
2) Sarawak
3) Belait District
4) Tutong District
5) Brunei-Muara District
6) Temburong District
7) Bandar Seri Begawan
8) Labuan island
9) Brunei Bay
10) Limbang District

CHAPTER TWO:

I True or False Write T (for true) or F (for false) next to each statement.

1) _T_ European accounts confirm that Islam was well established in Brunei by 1521.
2) _F_ The Portuguese attacked Brunei from their stronghold in Manila in 1578.
3) _T_ Javanese sources suggest that Brunei acknowledged the supremacy of the Majapahit empire in the mid to late fourteenth century.
4) _T_ The search for cheap spices was a major motivation for the Portuguese and other early Europeans to come to Southeast Asia.
5) _T_ When the Spanish began to establish themselves in Southeast Asia, Brunei was already an important kingdom that controlled much of Borneo, as well as the Sulu islands and other parts of the Philippines.
6) _F_ In Brunei, the term "Pengiran" referred to a member of the commoner (non-noble) class.
7) _F_ Lord Dalrymple was the first British Governor-General of Sarawak.
8) _F_ The British North Borneo Company was established by James Brooke.
9) _T_ Both James Brooke and the British government were concerned about the effects of piracy on the north coast of Borneo.
10) _F_ Sultan Hashim sold the rights to the Limbang District to Charles Brooke in 1890.

II Multiple Choice

1) D
2) C
3) C
4) B
5) C
6) C
7) B
8) C
9) C
10) C

CHAPTER THREE:

I True or False Write T (for true) or F (for false) next to each statement.

1) _T_ The residential system of administration begun in Brunei in 1906 was similar in function to the British system of rule on the Malay peninsula

2) _F_ Brunei was a wealthy, prosperous, and powerful state when it adopted the residential system

3) _T_ In the early twentieth century Brunei produced coal, cutch, and rubber.

4) _F_ The Brooke dynasty continued to rule Sarawak as an independent kingdom until Sarawak was incorporated into Malaysia in 1963.

5) _T_ The 1959 Agreement resulted in the creation of some elected councils but fell short of establishing a fully representative government in the form of a parliamentary democracy.

6) _F_ The object of the 1962 rebellion was to abolish the role of the sultan and to ensure that Brunei remained independent of Sarawak and Sabah.

7) _T_ One point of disagreement in the talks between Malaya and Brunei over the Malaysia issue centered around who would control Brunei's oil wealth.

8) _F_ After gaining independence, Brunei seemed reluctant to join ASEAN, and waited two years before becoming a member.

9) _F_ From the 1980's to the 1990's, revenue from gas and oil provided an increasingly large percentage of Brunei's GDP.

10) _F_ Since 1984, the role of the sultan has been largely ceremonial, and real political power rests with the Legislative Council.

II Multiple Choice

1) B
2) C
3) B
4) D
5) D
6) D
7) A
8) C
9) D
10) D

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